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# **The Text of the Canons of Ancyra**



# The Text of the Canons of Ancyra

The Greek, Latin, Syriac and Armenian Versions

R. B. RACKHAM



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# THE TEXT OF THE CANONS OF ANCYRA

R. B. RACKHAM

## A. TEXT.

### LIST OF MSS: (I) COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNCILS.

At Cambridge, in the University Library:—

C cod. ee iv 29 membran. s. xii

at Florence, in the Laurentian library:—

F<sub>1</sub> plut. x cod. 10 membran. s. xi<sup>1</sup>

F<sub>2</sub> ix 8 „ s. xi

F<sub>3</sub> x 1 chartac. s. xiii

at London, in the British Museum:—

L cod. add. 17474 chartac. s. xv

at Milan, in the Ambrosian library:—

M<sub>1</sub> cod. b 107 sup. membran. s. xii, xiii

M<sub>2</sub> f 48 sup. „ s. xii, xiii<sup>2</sup>

M<sub>3</sub> e 94 sup. „ s. xiii<sup>3</sup>

at Munich, in the Royal library<sup>4</sup>:—

Mon cod. 380 bombyc. s. xiv

at Oxford, in the Bodleian library:—

O<sub>1</sub> cod. bar. 26 membran. s. xi ineunt.

O<sub>2</sub> bar. 196 „ a. d. 1043

O<sub>3</sub> bar. 185 „ s. xi ineunt.

O<sub>4</sub> laud. 39 „ s. xi ineunt.<sup>5</sup>

O<sub>5</sub> misc. 206 „ s. xi exeunt.

<sup>1</sup>) The dates given are those assigned to the mss in the respective catalogues, and are to be depended upon accordingly: in many cases the dates given above are very uncertain.

<sup>2</sup>) *Messapiae in Magna Graecia emptus*, 1606.

<sup>3</sup>) *Soliti in Magna Graecia emptus est*, 1606.

<sup>4</sup>) In the Munich library, cod. 397 is a copy *e mso codice Parisiensi*, given to the library by *M. Elias Ehinger, gymnasii patrii professor et bibliothecarius, postridie Petri et Pauli*, 1618; but the original I have not come across at Paris, at least among the mss earlier than the sixteenth century.

<sup>5</sup>) Came through Germany and Egypt from Constantinople, *post direptionem urbis*.

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O <sub>6</sub>	cod. seld.	48	membran. s. xiii <sup>1</sup>
O <sub>7</sub>	misc.	170	„ s. xiv, xv
O <sub>8</sub>	bar.	158	chartac. s. xv

at Paris, in the National library:—

P <sub>1</sub>	cod.	1334	membran. s. x
P <sub>2</sub>	suppl.	1085	„ s. x
P <sub>3</sub>	suppl.	614	„ s. x
P <sub>4</sub>		1320	„ s. xi
P <sub>5</sub>		1325	„ s. xi <sup>2</sup>
P <sub>6</sub>	suppl.	1086	„ s. xi
P <sub>7</sub>		1324	„ a.d. 1104 <sup>3</sup>
P <sub>8</sub>	coislin.	34	„ s. xii <sup>4</sup>
P <sub>9</sub>	coislin.	35	„ s. xii
P <sub>10</sub>	coislin.	211	„ s. xii
P <sub>11</sub>	coislin.	364	„ a.d. 1295
P <sub>12</sub>		1370	„ a.d. 1297
P <sub>13</sub>		1369	bombyc. s. xiv
P <sub>14</sub>		1339	membran. s. xv
P <sub>15</sub>		1337	chartac. s. xv
P <sub>16</sub>		1374	„ s. xv
P <sub>17</sub>	suppl.	304	„ s. xvi

at Rome, in the Vatican library:—

R <sub>1</sub>	cod. palat.	376	membran. s. x ineunt. (= palat., Pitra)
R <sub>2</sub>	vatic.	827	„ s. xi <sup>5</sup> (= vatic. 1, Pitra)
R <sub>3</sub>	vatic.	1980	„ s. xi (= vatic. 2, Pitra)
R <sub>4</sub>	vatic.	2060	„ s. xi, xii (?) (= vatic. 3, Pitra)

in the Vallicellian library (Chiesa Nuova):—

R <sub>5</sub>	cod. f.	10	membran. s. x, xi
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in the Bibliotheca Angelica (S. Agostino):—

R <sub>6</sub>	cod. b.	1, 12	chartac. s. xv <sup>6 7</sup>
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<sup>1</sup>) *Olim monasterii SS. Trinitatis in insula Chalce.*

<sup>2</sup>) Can. Ancy. i–xvi *διατελέσαντες deficiunt.*

<sup>3</sup>) Begun by Νικόλαος γραφεύς, finished by Ἰωάννης εὐτελὴς πρεσβύτερος.

<sup>4</sup>) Can. Ancy. ν τοὺς δὲ ἐπισκόπους—xviii *ἐκκηρύκτους deficiunt.*

<sup>5</sup>) Can. Ancy. i–v δι' ἄλλης *deficiunt.*

<sup>6</sup>) Can. Ancy. xviii *βούλονται eis—xxv deficiunt.*

<sup>7</sup>) Another ms mentioned by Pitra, cod. column. 23, s. xiii, now in the Vatican, remains to be collated: but possibly it is the ms of Photius' *Synagma*, which Card. Mai printed in his *Spicileg. Roman.* t. vii. Of the other mss given by Pitra, ottob. 99, vatic. 1150, 1455 apparently do not contain the canons, while regin. 57, ottob. 249 are mss of Zonaras and Balsamon respectively (*Juris Eccles. Graec. Hist. et Monum.* i. 425).

at Venice, in S. Mark's library :—

V <sub>1</sub>	cod. bessar. 169	membran.	s. xii, xiii <sup>1</sup>
V <sub>2</sub>	bessar. 170	„	s. xiii
V <sub>3</sub>	nanian. 226	„	s. xiii, xiv
V <sub>4</sub>	bessar. 171	chartac.	s. xiii, xiv
V <sub>5</sub>	nanian. 236	„	a. d. 1467

(2) JOHN OF ANTIOCH'S *ΚΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ*.

joh 1	at Paris	cod. coislin. 209	membran.	s. x, xi
joh 2	„	coislin. 211	„	s. xii
joh 3	„	suppl. 483	bombyc.	s. xiv
joh 4	at Oxford	cod. bar. 86	membran.	s. xii exeunt.
joh 5	„	misc. 77 <sup>2</sup>		
joh 6	= Justel's text ( <i>Biblioth. Juris Canon.</i> Paris, 1661), printed as he tells us, from a very ancient ms, <i>quod ex bibliotheca collegii Claromontani Parisiensis beneficio doctiss. Jac Sirmondi nacti sumus</i> : this ms is now unfortunately lost <sup>3</sup> .			
joh 7	at Rome	cod. vatic. 843		
joh 8	at Florence	plut. ix	cod. 8 (F <sub>2</sub> )	

(3) ZONARAS' COMMENTARY.

zon 1	at Paris	cod. 1319	bombyc.	s. xiii
zon 2	„	coislin. 210	„	s. xiv
zon 3	at London	add. 22746	membran.	s. xiii

(4) BALSAMON'S COMMENTARY.

bals 1	at Venice	cod. bessar. 168	chartac.	s. xiii
bals 2	at Oxford	cod. bar. 205	„	s. xiv <sup>4</sup>
bals 3	at Paris	cod. 1331	bombyc.	s. xiv
bals 4	„	1328	chartac.	s. xv

The readings of Photius are taken from his *Syntagma Canonum*, printed by Mai in the *Spicilegium Romanum*, t. vii: his ms was a *codex columnensis, nunc vaticanus, insignis, membranaceus, antiquus, saec. nempe saltem xii, calligrapha diligen-*

<sup>1</sup>) These dates are very uncertain.

<sup>2</sup>) This ms differs very much from the ordinary text, and it only contains a very few of the Ancyran Canons. There seem to have been two widely different editions of the *Synagoge* (cf. Pitra). From this ms, joh 5 as also from joh 7, 8, only a very few readings have been obtained: but joh 1 2 3 4 6 have been collated throughout.

<sup>3</sup>) Justel knew of two other very old mss of John's *Synagoge*, viz. *unum perquam vetustum Romae in bibliotheca vaticana, Heidelbergae adlatum, insigne quidem et eximium* (? = vatic. 843): *alterum non minus antiquum in bibliotheca illustr. Franciae Cancellarii Petri Seguierii* (? cod. coislin. 209).

<sup>4</sup>) The text printed by Beveridge in his *Synodicon*.

*lique manu scriptus, tantaeque varietatis ut hic solus Photii verum syntagma continere videatur.*

The various readings are given in two divisions, in the upper division only the more significant variations being given.

The authorities are ranged in chronological order, but the earlier mss of the Canons are also ranged according to their families: which are thus marked—

$\alpha$  denotes  $R_1 P_1 P_2 O_2 O_3 P_4 F_2 V_1 O_6 V_5$   
 $\beta$  „  $P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 P_5 P_6 F_1 O_5 P_7 P_8 P_{10} C V_2$   
 $\gamma$  „  $R_5 R_2 O_1 P_9 O_7 F_3$   
 $\delta$  „  $M_1 M_2 M_3 P_{11} P_{12} V_3$

Also, for example,  $\beta$  (*ex*  $R_3 R_4$ ) means that all the  $\beta$  mss except  $R_3 R_4$  agree with the reading given.

Further—

$e = L O_8 P_{14}$   $f = P_{15} P_{16} P_{17}$   
 $joh = joh \ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 6$  (the only mss of *joh* collated throughout)  
 $zon = zon \ 1 \ 2 \ 3$   $zon-com =$  Zonaras in his commentary  
 $bals = bals \ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4$   $bals-com =$  Balsamon „ „  
 $phot =$  Photius  $matt =$  Matthew Blastar

\* marks the original reading, <sup>a</sup> the first corrector.

Thus the complete list of authorities in proper order will be  $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta V_4 Mon P_{13} R_6 e f joh phot zon zon-com bals bals-com matt$ .

In the case of the mss of the Councils silence in the notes denotes agreement with the text. But the commentators have not been so exhaustively treated: all the significant variations of *joh*, *zon*, *bals*, have been given, but insignificant variations in individual mss have been omitted.

The text printed is that of  $\alpha$ .

#### *Comparative Table of MSS.*

	s. x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv
$\alpha$	$R_1 P_1 P_2$	$O_2 O_3 P_1 F_2$	$V_1$	$O_6$		$V_5$
$\beta$	$P_3$	$R_3 R_4 O_4 P_5 P_6 F_1 O_5$	$P_7 P_8 P_{10} C$	$V_2$		
$\gamma$	$R_5$	$R_2 O_1$	$P_9$	$O_7 F_3$		
$\delta$			$M_1 M_2$	$M_3 P_{11} P_{12}$	$V_3$	
<i>ef etc</i>				$V_4$	$Mon P_{13}$	$L O_8 P_{14} R_6 P_{15} P_{16} P_{17}$
				$zon \ 1 \ 3$	$zon \ 2$	
				$bals \ 1$	$bals \ 2 \ 3$	$bals \ 4$
	$? joh \ 7$	$joh \ 1 \ 8$	$joh \ 2 \ 4 \ 5$	$joh \ 3$		

ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ ΣΥΝΕΛΘΟΝΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΑ-  
ΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΝ ΟΙΤΙΝΕΣ ΠΡΟΓΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΙ ΜΕΝ  
ΕΙΣΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΑ ΕΚΤΕΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΝΟΝΩΝ  
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΥΟΥΣΙ ΔΕ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕ-  
ΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ ΑΥΘΕΝΤΙΑΝ.

1 Πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐπιθύσαντας, εἴτα ἐπαναπαλαίσαντας  
μήτε ἐκ μεθόδου τινὸς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀληθείας μήτε προκατα-  
σκευάσαντας καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσαντας καὶ πείσαντας ἵνα δόξωσι  
μὲν βασάνοις ὑποβάλλεσθαι, ταύτας δὲ τῷ δοκεῖν καὶ τῷ  
σχήματι προσαχθῆναι, τούτους ἔδοξε τῆς μὲν τιμῆς τῆς κατὰ 5  
τὴν καθέδραν μετέχειν, προσφέρειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ ὁμιλεῖν ἢ  
ὅλως λειτουργεῖν τι τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργιῶν μὴ ἐξέιναι.

ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ P<sub>13</sub> O<sub>8</sub> f zon 1 bals 2 3 4  
add ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΚΕ f ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ ΣΥΝΕΛΘΟΝ-  
ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΝ bals 1 ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ  
ΣΥΣΤΑΧΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ L zon 2 3 add ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ  
ΑΥΡΗΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΕ L tit deficit in P<sub>14</sub> ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ  
ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΝ ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΚΕ P<sub>11</sub> ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ  
ΤΟΠΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΓΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΗΣ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΑ  
ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΥΟΙ ΔΕ κ.τ.λ. (et sequi-  
tur hypothesis, quae etiam in M<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> P<sub>12</sub> V<sub>3</sub> ante titulum reperitur)  
M<sub>3</sub> ΑΓΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΝ δ (ex M<sub>3</sub> P<sub>11</sub>) ad finem add ΕΙΣΙ  
ΔΕ ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΚΕ δ (ex M<sub>3</sub> P<sub>11</sub>)

i 1 επαναπαλ. α plur cum β γ V<sub>4</sub> Mon R<sub>6</sub> f zon bals αναπαλαισαντας  
P<sub>2</sub>\* O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>6</sub> P<sub>6</sub>\* δ e joh phot bals 1<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>a</sup> aristenus zon-com bals-com  
επαναλυσαντας P<sub>10</sub> επανελθοντας P<sub>13</sub> 7 om τι δ (ex P<sub>11</sub>) joh 4  
aliquibus (sacerdotalibus) officiis fungi isid

ΚΑΝΩΝΑΙ O<sub>1</sub> ΣΥΝΕΛΘΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΤΕΘΕΝΤΩΝ O<sub>7</sub>  
ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗΣ O<sub>6</sub>

i 1 Πρεσβυτερος M<sub>3</sub> Πρεσβυτερος V<sub>3</sub> εἴτα] add παλιν P<sub>11</sub> bals-com  
επαναπ.] add μητε μετα εμπαγμου P<sub>11</sub> 3 om και επιτηδ. R<sub>3</sub> επιτηδ. και τι  
marg M<sub>3</sub> επιτηδευσαντες O<sub>4</sub> om και πεισαντας V<sub>4</sub> και πεισ. repet O<sub>7</sub>  
και [ινα] F<sub>2</sub> 4 βασανους P<sub>11</sub> βασανοις μεν (tr) e υποβαλεσθαι  
O<sub>1</sub> 5 προσαχθηναι P<sub>11</sub> 6 ομιλ.] add λογους διδασκαλιας ποιεισθαι  
(λογους διδ. P<sub>8</sub>) τω λαω πως γαρ ετεροις υποβοηνο τα βελτιστα αυτοι παρα-  
σφαλεντες του κρειττονος (schol in V<sub>1</sub> R<sub>3</sub> Mon) P<sub>8</sub> C 7 μη δειναι L  
ad fin add τουτους ως ειρηται V<sub>4</sub>

- II Διακόνους ὁμοίως θύσαντας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναπαλαίσαντας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τιμὴν ἔχειν, πεπαῦσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς πάσης τῆς ἱερατικῆς λειτουργίας τῆς τε τοῦ ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν ἢ κηρύσσειν· εἰ μέντοι τινὲς τῶν ἐπισκόπων τούτοις συνειδοίεν κάματόν τινα ἢ ταπείνωσιν πραότητος καὶ ἐθέ- 5 λοιεν πλέον τι διδόναι ἢ ἀφαιρεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν.
- III Τοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ συλληφθέντας ἢ ὑπὸ οἰκείων παραδοθέντας ἢ ἄλλως τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀφαιρεθέντας ἢ ὑπομείναντας βασάνους ἢ εἰς δεσμοτήριον ἐμβληθέντας, βοῶντάς τε ὅτι εἰςὶ χριστιανοὶ καὶ περισχισθέντας, ἦτοι εἰς τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς βίαν ἐμβαλλόντων τῶν βιαζομένων ἢ βρωμά 5
- ii 1 ὡσαντως ἐπιθύσαντας δ joh 2 om πασης F<sub>1</sub> P<sub>11</sub> R<sub>6</sub> om της [ιερ.] P<sub>10</sub> O<sub>7</sub> δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) Mon joh 2 3 6 3 ιερατικῆς α cum R<sub>3</sub> R<sub>4</sub> O<sub>4</sub> P<sub>7</sub> γ δ V<sub>4</sub> Mon R<sub>6</sub> joh phot bals ιερας O<sub>6</sub> β (P<sub>3</sub> P<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub> O<sub>5</sub> P<sub>8</sub> P<sub>10</sub> C V<sub>2</sub>) P<sub>13</sub> e zon zon-com sacro latt om ιερ. f αρτου η ποτηριον P<sub>3</sub> F<sub>1</sub> P<sub>10</sub> P<sub>9</sub> V<sub>4</sub> joh 2 αρτου η ποτηριου O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>7</sub> αρτου και του ποτηριου και του αναφ. R<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> F<sub>3</sub> 4 τουτοις cum R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> O<sub>3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> P<sub>8</sub> C γ (exc P<sub>9</sub>; R<sub>2</sub> def) δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) Mon P<sub>13</sub> R<sub>6</sub> e (L om τουτ.) f joh 1 3 4 6 zon 1 bals τουτους O<sub>2</sub> P<sub>4</sub> O<sub>6</sub> V<sub>6</sub> β (exc R<sub>3</sub> P<sub>8</sub> C) P<sub>9</sub> M<sub>3</sub><sup>\*</sup> P<sub>11</sub> V<sub>4</sub> joh 2 phot περι τουτοις F<sub>2</sub> τουτο R<sub>3</sub> τουτων zon 2 3 5 συνειδοιεν α (exc V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>6</sub>) cum P<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub> γ δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) V<sub>4</sub> e joh 1 3 4 συνειδοιεν V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>6</sub> β (exc P<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub>) P<sub>11</sub> Mon R<sub>6</sub> joh 2 bals zon-com bals-com συνειδειεν P<sub>13</sub> f zon con- scii sunt isid dion θελοιεν P<sub>8</sub> C R<sub>5</sub> O<sub>7</sub> δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) Mon joh 2 4 6 6 αφελειν δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) joh (exc 3) zon-com
- iii 1 οικειων] ιδιων δ joh 2 3 4 ιουδαιων joh 1 4 περισχησθεντας R<sub>3</sub> περισχεθεντας P<sub>8</sub> O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>7</sub> δ L O<sub>8</sub> R<sub>6</sub> f joh 2 3 4 6 γ (περιχεθ.) παρασχι- σθεντας P<sub>13</sub> zon 1 περισχισθεντας legit etiam joh 1 8 5 εμβα- λοντων F<sub>2</sub> O<sub>6</sub> P<sub>8</sub> O<sub>1</sub> δ (exc M<sub>3</sub> P<sub>11</sub>) P<sub>13</sub> O<sub>8</sub> P<sub>14</sub> joh 4 zon bals 2 3 εμβα-
- ii 1 Διακονοις V<sub>1</sub> ταυτας O<sub>7</sub> 2 της μεν αλλης τιμης P<sub>6</sub> V<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> R<sub>6</sub> matt μετεχειν P<sub>6</sub> V<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> matt 3 om λειτουργιας R<sub>6</sub> om της τε . . . κηρυσσειν P<sub>13</sub> L f zon 1 3 4 ει μεν τινες R<sub>3</sub> O<sub>1</sub><sup>\*</sup> 5 ηθελοιεν R<sub>4</sub> 6 πλειον R<sub>6</sub> F<sub>3</sub> R<sub>4</sub> υφαιρειν joh 3 zon 2
- iii 1 φευοντας O<sub>1</sub> προσφευγ. V<sub>1</sub> συλλ.] ηττηθεντας P<sub>13</sub> om η υπο οικ. . . εμβληθ. I<sup>\*</sup> (sed η υπο. . . παραδ. in marg et η αλλ. . . αφαιρ. in seilur post περισχισθ.) 2 om αλλως V<sub>4</sub> om η αλλ . . . αφαιρ. M<sub>2</sub> αφαιρε- θεντος O<sub>4</sub> om η υπομειν. . . εμβληθ. P<sub>16</sub> 3 om βοωντας . . . περι- σχισθ. V<sub>1</sub> F<sub>3</sub><sup>\*</sup> (F<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> add βοωντας sup lin et και περισχισθεντας post χριστιαν.) 4 εισιν εισιν R<sub>3</sub> περισχισθεντες O<sub>5</sub> περισχισθεντας τους χιτωνας zon- com ητοι]η F<sub>3</sub> om τας V<sub>1</sub> 5 χειρας] add τι bals om βιαν L om

τι πρὸς ἀνάγκην δεξαμένους, ὁμολογοῦντας δὲ διόλου ὅτι εἰσὶ χριστιανοὶ καὶ τὸ πένθος τοῦ συμβάντος ἀεὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένους τῇ πάσῃ καταστολῇ καὶ τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ταπεινότητι, τούτους ὡς ἕξω ἁμαρτήματος ὄντας τῆς κοινωνίας μὴ κωλύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπὸ τινος περισσο-<sup>10</sup> τέρας ἀκριβείας ἔνεκεν ἢ καὶ τινων ἀγνοίᾳ, εὐθὺς προσδεχθῆναι· τοῦτο δὲ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λαϊκῶν. προσεξεητάσθη δὲ καὶ ἐκείνῳ, εἰ δύνανται καὶ λαικοὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἀνάγκῃ ὑποπεσόντες προάγεσθαι εἰς τάξιν· ἔδοξεν οὖν καὶ τούτους ὡς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας, εἰ καὶ ἡ προ-<sup>15</sup> λαβοῦσα εὐρίσκειτο ὀρθὴ τοῦ βίου πολιτεία, προχειρίζεσθαι.

iv Περὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν θυσάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν δειννησάντων εἰς τὰ εἶδωλα, ὅσοι μὲν ἀπαγόμενοι καὶ σχήματι φαιδροτέρῳ ἀνῆλθον καὶ ἐσθῆτι ἐχρήσαντο πολυτελεστέρα

λontas f προσβαλλόντων L βρωματα δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) joh 4 aliquid pol-  
luti cidi isid dion escam prisca 10 om και [εκωλυθ.] δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>)  
e joh 2 4 6 zon 11 om η [και τιν.] γ (exc O<sub>7</sub>: R<sub>2</sub> def) δια τινων  
αγνοια δ joh 2 3 4 6 per aliquorum ignorantiam isid propter  
quorundam ign. dion προσδεχθησαν V<sub>1</sub> γ (R<sub>2</sub> def) bals  
13 προσεξετασθη P<sub>4</sub> F<sub>2</sub> V<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub> P<sub>11</sub> V<sub>4</sub> f phot 14 περιπεσόντες δ  
joh προαγεσθαι α cum P<sub>6</sub> P<sub>10</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub> M<sub>1</sub> P<sub>12</sub> V<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> P<sub>13</sub> R<sub>6</sub> f joh 1 2 3 4  
phot zon 1 3 bals προαγεσθαι F<sub>2</sub>\* β (exc P<sub>6</sub> P<sub>10</sub>) R<sub>5</sub> O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub> M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub>  
P<sub>11</sub> Mon e joh 6 zon 2 16 om ευρισκονται P<sub>6</sub> O<sub>7</sub> joh 1 2 3 4 6  
ορθη τ. β. πολ. ευρισκ. R<sub>5</sub> F<sub>3</sub> του β. πολ. ορθη O<sub>7</sub> πολ. τ. βιου R<sub>6</sub>  
πολιτεια] add συμπαττοι P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub> joh 1 2 3 6 add η συμπαττοι δ joh 4  
si vita eos probabilis commendat isid probabilis sit dion aut  
antea inveniat recta vita eorum prisca

cc. iv, v = c. iv γ (exc O<sub>1</sub>)

iv 1 bias δ επιθυσαντων δ joh 1 2 3 4 2 μιν] add ουν  
δ joh 1 3 4 6; ουν deest in latt 3 σφοδρωτερω O<sub>6</sub>\* P<sub>3</sub> P<sub>6</sub>\* F<sub>1</sub>\*

των [βιαζ.] O<sub>7</sub> bals 2 η βρ.] εις βρ. O<sub>1</sub> 7 του πενθους O<sub>6</sub> om του  
συμβαντος f επιδεικνυμενου R<sub>4</sub> 9 του [αμαρτ.] P<sub>17</sub> αμαρτησαν F<sub>2</sub>\*  
της κοιν. μη κοινωνιας μη καλ. R<sub>6</sub> 11 om και [τινων] O<sub>7</sub> 12 om εκ V<sub>4</sub>  
om του V<sub>1</sub> bals 13 om αλλων P<sub>11</sub> om δε P<sub>7</sub> 14 τη αυτη] τοιαυτη  
M<sub>3</sub> P<sub>11</sub> 15 om η [προλ.] P<sub>7</sub> P<sub>11</sub> zon 2 προσλαβουσα O<sub>7</sub>\* 16 συμ-  
παττοι V<sub>3</sub> ει συμπαττη P<sub>11</sub>

iv 1 Περι . . . θυσαντων om F<sub>2</sub>; in titulo V<sub>4</sub> Επει δε V<sub>4</sub> προ bias P<sub>11</sub>  
επιθυμησαντων P<sub>11</sub> συνδειπν. P<sub>11</sub> 2 ειδωλεια F<sub>2</sub>\* joh 2 όσοι μενοι  
[και] O<sub>1</sub> 3 φαινομενοι [φαιδρ] R<sub>6</sub> εσθητα . . . πολυτελεστεραν P<sub>11</sub>

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καὶ μετέσχον τοῦ παρασκευασθέντος δείπνου ἀδιαφόρως,  
ἔδοξεν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι, ὑποπεσεῖν δὲ τρία ἔτη, εὐχῆς δὲ 5  
μόνης κοινωνῆσαι ἔτη δύο, καὶ τότε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον.

v Ὅσοι δὲ ἀνῆλθον μετὰ ἐσθῆτος πενθικῆς καὶ ἀναπεσόντες  
ἔφαγον μεταξὺ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἀνακλίσεως δακρύοντες, εἰ ἐπλή-  
ρωσαν τὸν τῆς ὑποπτώσεως τριετῆ χρόνον, χωρὶς προσφορᾶς  
δεχθῆτωσαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔφαγον, δύο ὑποπεσόντες ἔτη τῷ  
τρίτῳ κοινωνησάτωσαν χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῇ 5  
τετραετίᾳ λάβωσιν· τοὺς δὲ ἐπισκόπους ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τὸν  
τρόπον τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς δοκιμάσαντας φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι ἢ  
πλείονα προστιθέναι χρόνον· πρὸ πάντων δὲ καὶ ὁ προάγων  
βίος καὶ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξεταζέσθω, καὶ οὕτως ἡ φιλανθρωπία  
ἐπιμετρείσθω. 10

vi Περὶ τῶν ἀπειλῇ μόνον εἰζάντων κολάσεως καὶ ἀφαιρέσεως  
ὑπαρχόντων ἢ μετοικίας καὶ θυσάντων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος  
καιροῦ μὴ μετανοησάντων μηδὲ ἐπιστρεψάντων, νῦν δὲ παρὰ

O<sub>5</sub> V<sub>2</sub> 6 κοινωνησάτωσαν R<sub>8</sub> (ητ) P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub> (ητ\*) F<sub>3</sub> (ητ) δυο  
ετη tr δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) joh 1 2 4 6 bals 1 3

v 1 om δε δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) joh 4 2 ἀνακλησεως V<sub>1</sub> β (R<sub>4</sub> O<sub>4</sub> F<sub>1</sub> O<sub>8</sub> P<sub>8</sub>  
P<sub>10</sub> C) R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>7</sub> δ (exc V<sub>3</sub>) V<sub>4</sub> joh 2 3 4 ἀνακλυσσεως O<sub>1</sub> της ἀνακλησεως  
hinc incipit R<sub>2</sub> 5 κοινωνησάτωσαν α cum P<sub>3</sub> R<sub>3</sub> R<sub>4</sub> O<sub>4</sub>  
P<sub>6</sub> O<sub>5</sub> P<sub>7</sub> γ (exc P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub>) O<sub>4</sub> P<sub>14</sub> R<sub>6</sub> joh 1 4 phot zon κοινωνησάτωσαν F<sub>1</sub>  
P<sub>8</sub> P<sub>10</sub> C V<sub>2</sub> P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub> (ητ) δ (ητ) V<sub>4</sub> (ιτ) Mon P<sub>13</sub> (ητ) L f joh 2 (ητ) 3 (ητ)  
6 bals κοινων.] add χρονω P<sub>13</sub> O<sub>8</sub> P<sub>14</sub> zon add ετει f bals  
6 τριετια O<sub>3</sub> P<sub>8</sub> C V<sub>2</sub> F<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> Mon e f zon zon-com bals aristenus quarto  
anno, quadriennio latt τους δε επισκοπους hic deficit P<sub>8</sub>

vi 1 μονη V<sub>1</sub> R<sub>3</sub> R<sub>5</sub> F<sub>3</sub> δ P<sub>13</sub> joh bals-com (matt) minis tantum isid  
dion 2 χωρις η μετοικισιας γ (exc O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub>) μετοικισιας O<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> om

5 om [ευχης] δε P<sub>8</sub> C Mon 6 om μονης V<sub>1</sub> bals ετη] επι P<sub>11</sub> ετη ετη F<sub>2</sub>  
ετη β' β' F<sub>1</sub> τοτε] add φησιν η θεια συνοδος V<sub>4</sub> τελος R<sub>3</sub>

v 2 om μεταξυ O<sub>7</sub> om της [ανακ.] P<sub>18</sub> 4 δεχθησονται O<sub>7</sub> υπο-  
πεσοντας O<sub>1</sub> om ετη V<sub>3</sub> τω τριτω] add τοις πιστοις συνιστασθαι  
(schol in M<sub>1</sub> ex Zonara) M<sub>3</sub> 5 της τετραετιας V<sub>4</sub> 6 λαβωσιν  
add φησιν V<sub>4</sub> 7 φιλανθρωπευσασθαι<sup>1</sup> O<sub>1</sub>\* O<sub>7</sub> bals 2 8 χρονω P<sub>11</sub>  
προεχων phot 9 βιος ... ταυτα] χρονος του βιου O<sub>7</sub> om ο [μετα] R<sub>4</sub> P<sub>9</sub>  
μεταυτα V<sub>3</sub> εξεταζετω P<sub>11</sub>

vi 1 [Περι] δε F<sub>2</sub> τη [ἀπειλη] P<sub>11</sub> οιζαντων M<sub>3</sub> κολασεων P<sub>13</sub> zon 1  
η [και αφ.] P<sub>11</sub> om και αφαιρ. P<sub>9</sub> 2 η μετοι[και] V<sub>1</sub> om και [θυσαντ.]  
P<sub>11</sub> 3 επιτρεψαντων R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> νυν] μη f περι [τ. καιρ.] L f zon 2

τὸν καιρὸν τῆς συνόδου προσελθόντων καὶ εἰς διάνοιαν τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς γενομένων, ἔδοξε μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας εἰς 5 ἀκρόασιν δεχθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἡμέραν ὑποπεσεῖν τρία ἔτη καὶ μετὰ ἄλλα δύο ἔτη κοινωνῆσαι χωρὶς προσφορᾶς καὶ οὕτως ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον, ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξαετίαν πληρῶσαι· εἰ δέ τινες πρὸ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἐδέχθησαν εἰς μετάνοιαν, ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου λελογίσθαι 10 αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας· εἰ μέντοι τις κίνδυνος καὶ θανάτου προσδοκία ἐκ νόσου ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς προφάσεως συμβαίη, τούτους ἐπὶ ὄρφ δεχθῆναι.

- vii Περὶ τῶν συνεστιαθέντων ἐν ἑορτῇ ἐθνικῇ ἐν τόπῳ ἀφωρισμένῳ τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς, ἴδια βρώματα ἐπικομισαμένων καὶ φαγόντων, ἔδοξε διετίαν ὑποπεσόντας δεχθῆναι· τὸ δὲ εἰ χρὴ μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπισκόπων δοκιμάσαι καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἐφ' ἑκάστου ἐξετάσαι. 5

ετη 2<sup>ο</sup> R<sub>6</sub> F<sub>3</sub> P<sub>11</sub> 9 ταυτης] αυτης P<sub>3</sub> F<sub>1</sub> C f zon bals 11 την της εξαετιας P<sub>3</sub> F<sub>1</sub> C Mon P<sub>13</sub> zon την εξαετιαν e f bals om τις P<sub>3</sub> P<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub> O<sub>5</sub> P<sub>10</sub> C V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> Mon\* P<sub>13</sub> e f phot zon bals matt aliqui periculus prisca si quod isid quodlibet dion

- vii 1 [ἐν τοπω] F<sub>2</sub> V<sub>5</sub> F<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> V<sub>2</sub> δ joh 1 2 4 6; η deest in latt. 2 ἴδια] add δε V<sub>1</sub> γ (exc O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub>) η [καὶ φαγ.] P<sub>13</sub> e f zon bals matt 4 ἐκαστου F<sub>2</sub> P<sub>6</sub><sup>a</sup> R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub> P<sub>11</sub> joh 2 3 4 6 ἐκαστω O<sub>6</sub> phot ἐκαστον μετα τ. προσφ. tr P<sub>13</sub> e f zon 1 3 bals; ἐκαστον δεχθῆναι expricat Zonaras sed latt. omnes legunt 'unusquisque episcopus (orunt)' δοκιμασαι] pr ἐξεστω O<sub>6</sub> phot pr εστω R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub> pr εστι P<sub>6</sub><sup>a</sup> O<sub>7</sub> δε joh pr εστι το f bals add εστι R<sub>6</sub> zon 2 5 ἐξετασαι] αξιω-

bals 4 κατα bals 1 4 προσελθ.] επιστρεψαντων P<sub>9</sub> διανοιαν] διακονιαν V<sub>3</sub> εννοιαν f 5 της μεχρι tr O<sub>7</sub> om μεχρι O<sub>1</sub>\* om ημερας P<sub>7</sub> L 6 ημεραν] add ητοι την του κυ αναστασιν κ. τ. λ. C 7 om αλλα P<sub>9</sub> 8 εωστε L πασαν] παρουνσαν C 9 τιναι O<sub>1</sub> 10 εξεδεχθησαν V<sub>4</sub> εις] προς P<sub>11</sub> λελογισται O<sub>2</sub> C V<sub>2</sub> λελογιστε joh 3 λογισθαι V<sub>5</sub> λογισθηναι bals 1 3 et com λογιζεσθαι f bals 2 11 αυτοις] αυτης P<sub>11</sub> 12 om εκ νοσου O<sub>1</sub>\* νοσου] add αυτοις e συμβαινει R<sub>4</sub> επισυμβαιη R<sub>6</sub> matt 13 οροις P<sub>11</sub> τω [ορω] M<sub>2</sub>

- vii 1 συνεστιαθεντων e bals 2 3 εσθιαθεντων P<sub>11</sub> P<sub>12</sub>\* τη [ἐθνικη] R<sub>1</sub> αφορσθέντι f bals 4 2 ἐθνικοις] ἐθνικης V<sub>3</sub>\*, add εν ειδωλειω τυχον η αλλα τοπω εις τελετας αυτοις τελουμενας ανακειμενω (ex Zonaras com) e επισκομ. P<sub>9</sub> 3 om το δε ει χρη P<sub>11</sub> om δε O<sub>6</sub> om ει O<sub>7</sub>\* 4 om της V<sub>4</sub> μετασχειν της προσφορας εκαστον τον επισκοπον F<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> 5 om βιον L εξετασαι] add καλως V<sub>4</sub>

- VIII Οἱ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον θύσαντες μετὰ βίας τετραετίαν ὑποπεσέτωσαν, δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνησάτωσαν καὶ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελείως δεχθήτωσαν.
- IX Ὅσοι δὲ μὴ μόνον ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανέστησαν καὶ ἠνάγκασαν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ αἵτιοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὗτοι ἔτη μὲν τρία τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως δεξάσθωσαν τόπον, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐξαετία τὸν τῆς ὑποπτώσεως, ἄλλον δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν κοινωνησάτωσαν χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, ἵνα τὴν δεκαετίαν πληρώ- 5 σαντες τοῦ τελείου μετάσχωσιν· ἐν μέντοι τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον αὐτῶν ἐπιτηρεῖσθαι βίου.
- X Διάκονοι, ὅσοι καθίστανται, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν κατάστασιν εἰ ἐμαρτύραντο καὶ ἔφασαν χρήναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενοι οὕτως

σαι P<sub>3</sub> R<sub>3</sub> R<sub>4</sub> O<sub>4</sub> F<sub>1</sub>\* O<sub>5</sub> P<sub>7</sub> C δοκιμασαι P<sub>15</sub> tr δοκιμασαι εἰ ἐξε-  
τασαι O<sub>6</sub>

viii 1 τριετιαν O<sub>3</sub> F<sub>2</sub> C V<sub>4</sub> Mon 2 κοινωνησάτωσαν α (ex V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>6</sub>)  
β (ex P<sub>10</sub>) P<sub>3</sub> P<sub>11</sub> Mon P<sub>13</sub> O<sub>8</sub> P<sub>14</sub> phot zon bals 1 3 4 aristenus κοινω-  
νειτωσαν V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>6</sub> (ητ) P<sub>10</sub> γ (ητ : ex P<sub>3</sub>) δ (ητ : ex P<sub>11</sub>) V<sub>4</sub> LR<sub>6</sub> f joh  
1 2 3 6 bals 2 κοινωνησαι joh 4

ix 3 μεν ετη tr R<sub>4</sub> F<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub> P<sub>11</sub> 4 τη [αλλη] δ (ex P<sub>11</sub>) 5 κοι-  
νωειτωσαν F<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub> P<sub>10</sub> C (ητ) R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub> (ητ) M<sub>3</sub> (ητ) V<sub>4</sub> P<sub>13</sub> R<sub>6</sub> f joh 3 (ητ)  
4 (ητ) 6 bals 4

x 1 ὅσοι καθίστανται] καθισταμενοι ὅσοι V<sub>1</sub> γ (ex O<sub>1</sub>), ὅσοι καθισταμενοι  
ὅσοι bals om ὅσοι f εἰ ἐμαρτυραντο] διεμαρτυραντο V<sub>1</sub> γ bals  
bals-com εἰ ἐμαρτυρησαντο P<sub>3</sub> F<sub>1</sub>\* C Mon\* L f zon *diaconi qui-*  
*cumque constituuntur si . . . protestati sunt, diac. quoque cum*  
*ordinantur si isid diac. qui sunt ordinandi, si prisca diac.*  
*quicumque ordinantur, si dion* 2 ἐφησαν γ (ex O<sub>1</sub>) joh 4 5 6

viii 1 E<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> bals 2 om δε P<sub>11</sub> επιθυσαντας P<sub>11</sub> τετραετίας O<sub>7</sub>  
2 υποπεσάτωσαν R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>11</sub> joh 14 υποπιπτετωσαν O<sub>3</sub> L om [δυο]  
δε F<sub>3</sub>\* M<sub>3</sub> 3 εβδ.] add ετει P<sub>11</sub> bals 4 tr δεχθητ. εἰ κοινω-  
νητ. O<sub>7</sub>

ix 1 om δε L αλλα και επαν. in marg M<sub>3</sub> 2 τους [αδελφ.] P<sub>11</sub>  
joh 2 3 4 6 επαν. αδελφοις και ηναγκ. joh 1 αιτιοι] αυτοι P<sub>11</sub>  
εγενοντου [αναγκ.] F<sub>3</sub> 3 om ετη R<sub>1</sub> om τον V<sub>4</sub> 4 εν δε  
αλλη . . . υποπτωσεως repet V<sub>1</sub> 5 δεκατιαν M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>5</sub> 6 μετεχωσι L om  
εν μεντοι κ. τ. λ. ad fin F<sub>1</sub>\* τουτω τω] τοιουτω O<sub>7</sub> 7 om αυτων  
V<sub>4</sub> τον αλλ. επ βιον αυτ. tr F<sub>2</sub> επιτηρεισθω R<sub>3</sub> P<sub>12</sub> V<sub>3</sub> (ασθω)

x c. x. hic omittitur et inseritur post c. xiv L 1 Οι [διακ.] L post καθισταμε-  
νοι rasura (?=οσοι) sequitur bals 1 om αυτην O<sub>1</sub> om την F<sub>3</sub> 2 εφθασαν L

μείναι, οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες ἔστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπε-  
ρεσίᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐπιτραπῆναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· τοῦτο  
δὲ εἴ τινας σιωπήσαντες καὶ καταδεξάμενοι ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ 5  
μένειν οὕτως μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθον ἐπὶ γάμον, πεπαῦσθαι αὐτοὺς  
τῆς διακονίας.

XI Τὰς μνηστευθείσας κόρας καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἄρπα-  
γείσας ἔδοξεν ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς προμνηστευσταμένοις, εἰ καὶ  
βίαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάθουσιν.

XII Τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τεθυκότας καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα  
βαπτισθέντας ἔδοξεν εἰς τάξιν προάγεσθαι ὥς ἀπολουσα-  
μένους.

XIII Χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειρο-  
τονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ  
ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἐτέρᾳ  
παροικίᾳ.

5 παρασιωπησαντες  $V_1$  (?  $R_5^*$ )  $F_3$  bals 6 και [μετα]  $M_1$   $M_3$   $P_{12}$   
 $V_3$  [μετα] δε  $M_2$

xi 1 υπ. αλλ. αρπ. μ. ταυτα tr  $V_1$  f bals 2 μνηστευσαν.  $F_3^*$  L  
 $P_{13}$   $P_{14}$  f zon bals 3 et zon bals matt in comm μεμνηστευσ. C Mon

xii 2 προαγεσθαι add δεῖν 8 (ex  $P_{12}$ ) joh 1 2 3 4 : δεῖν deest in latt

xiii 1 χωρεπισκοπους  $R_5^*$   $P_{11}$  L f joh 2 3 8 bals 2 χωρεπισκοπος  $O_5$   $O_1^*$   
χωρεπισκοπον  $P_{13}$  bals-comm matt 2 om μὴν  $O_5$  f zon 1 bals-  
comm πρεσβυτερος α cum β  $V_4$  Mon  $R_6$  e f joh 1 zon 1 bals 1 3 4<sup>1</sup>  
πρεσβυτερος  $R_5$   $F_3$  8 (ex  $P_{11}$ ) joh 2 3 4 5 6 8 πρεσβυτερον C  $P_{13}$

3 ουτοι] οτι  $P_{11}$  εν τη] ετη  $F_2$   $O_7^*$  om εν bals 1 2 4 4 om

δια  $O_1^*$  αυτοις L phot zon 2 3 bals τουτο δε] τουτοι  $P_{11}$  τουτο' ει

δε joh 2 bals 5 ει τινες δε tr  $R_6$  om και [καταδεξ.] C f joh 5

6 εις γαμον  $P_{11}$  7 διακ] θειας κοινωνιας  $P_{11}$

xi 2 εδοξεν] add εις ταξιν  $R_6$  add ταυτας  $V_4$  προσμνησταμενοι  $P_{11}$  om

ει και ad fin  $P_{11}$  3 παρ αυτων f

xii 2 προαγεσθαι  $M_3$

xiii 1 χωρεπισκοποι zon 2 εξιεναι zon 2 η] και L 2 μητε  $R_2$

3 δια [γραμματων] f matt om εν  $F_3$

<sup>1</sup>) et in codd regin 52, ottob 249, brit mus arun 533.

xiv Τοὺς ἐν κλήρῳ πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους ὄντας καὶ ἀπε-  
χομένους κρεῶν ἔδοξεν ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ οὕτως, εἰ βούλονται,  
κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν· εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται, ὥς μηδὲ τὰ μετὰ κρεῶν  
βαλλόμενα λάχανα ἐσθίειν, καὶ μὴ ὑπέεικοιεν τῷ κανόνι,  
πεπαῦσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς τάξεως. 5

xv Περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων τῷ κυριακῷ, ὅσα ἐπισκόπου μὴ ὄντος  
πρεσβύτεροι ἐπώλησαν, ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὸ κυριακόν· ἐν δὲ  
τῇ κρίσει τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἶναι, εἴτε προσήκει ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν  
τιμὴν εἴτε καὶ μὴ, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τὴν πρόσδοον τῶν πεπρα-  
μένων ἀποδεδωκέναι αὐτοῖς τούτοις πλείονα τὴν τιμὴν. 5

zon 2 3<sup>1</sup> bals-com matt επισκοποις γ (exc R<sub>5</sub> F<sub>3</sub> επισκοποις O<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> -ous  
cum μηδε πρεσβυτερους in marg O<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>) phot<sup>2</sup> αλλα μην δια πρεσβυ-  
τερων P<sub>11</sub> εκαστη γ δ joh 1-8 latt

xiv 1 om και [απεχομ.] P<sub>13</sub> e f zon bals 3 ει δε μη βουλ. α (P<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> P<sub>2</sub>  
O<sub>2</sub> O<sub>3</sub> P<sub>4</sub> F<sub>2</sub> V<sub>5</sub>) cum R<sub>3</sub> P<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> V<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> V<sub>4</sub> L O<sub>5</sub> R<sub>6</sub> f joh 4 bals ει δε βου-  
λονται R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> β (P<sub>3</sub> R<sub>4</sub> O<sub>4</sub> F<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> O<sub>5</sub> P<sub>7</sub> P<sub>10</sub> V<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup>) P<sub>13</sub> P<sub>14</sub> zon ει δε βδελ-  
υσσονται V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>6</sub> C γ δ Mon joh 1 2 3 5 6 8 phot latt om ως μηδε  
f bals 1 2 4 om ως bals 3 4 και ει μη P<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> P<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub> O<sub>5</sub> P<sub>10</sub> V<sub>2</sub>  
P<sub>9</sub><sup>a</sup> και μηδε bals ει δε μη fmatt

xv 1 [Περι] δε V<sub>1</sub> γ (exc O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub>) 2 τω κυριακω F<sub>2</sub> γ P<sub>11</sub> V<sub>4</sub> ad  
ius (iura) ecclesiasticum reuocari latt reuocari res ecclesiasticas  
(monac 6243) reuocare . . . dominicam (reg 1997) 3 ειπερ  
β (exc P<sub>6</sub>) Mon P<sub>13</sub> e joh 2 zon ει f bals 4 om και [μη] R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>  
O<sub>3</sub> R<sub>2</sub> R<sub>3</sub> εισοδον P<sub>3</sub> P<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub> O<sub>5</sub> P<sub>10</sub> C V<sub>2</sub> Mon bals-com πεπραμ-  
μένων O<sub>1</sub> πεπραγμένων V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>6</sub> (F<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>) δ V<sub>4</sub> O<sub>8</sub> P<sub>16</sub> P<sub>17</sub> joh 3 4 zon 2 bals  
2 3 4 5 om τουτοις P<sub>10</sub> M<sub>3</sub> P<sub>13</sub> e om την P<sub>2</sub> O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>6</sub> P<sub>11</sub> zon  
2 bals 2

xiv 1 η] και L P<sub>14</sub> 2 εδοξε νε φαπτ. O<sub>4</sub> βουλειντο R<sub>4</sub> 3 [κρατ.]  
αυτων f zon 2 3 bals βδελυσσονται O<sub>6</sub> R<sub>2</sub> (in R<sub>3</sub> λυσσο ευρ ras) βδελυσ-  
σονται P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub> M<sub>3</sub> εβδελυσσονται P<sub>11</sub> οι δε βδελυσσονται joh 5 ει δε ουτως  
βουλονται απεχεσθαι ως μηδε explicit Zonaras om τα V<sub>2</sub> om  
μετα R<sub>2</sub> των [κρεων] O<sub>7</sub> 4 υπηκοιεν R<sub>5</sub> F<sub>3</sub> δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) υπεικεινεν L  
xv 1 επισκοπω μη οντι P<sub>11</sub> [επισκ.] τε O<sub>8</sub> 3 ειτε χρη [απολαβειν] joh  
16 matt 4 τιμην add τους κακως ωνησαμενους phot 5 αποδουναι  
R<sub>6</sub> f om τουτ. πλειονα P<sub>13</sub> της τιμης f

<sup>1</sup>) et in codd regin 57, monac 45, brit mus add 28823.

<sup>2</sup>) sed in cod monac 122 (? Photii) χωρεπισκοπους . . . πρεσβυτερους πολεως . . . εν  
ετερα εκαστη επαρχα (sic).

xvi Περὶ τῶν ἀλογευσαμένων ἢ καὶ ἀλογευομένων, ὅσοι πρὶν εἰκοσαετῆς γενέσθαι ἡμάρτον, πέντε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ὑποπεσόντες κοινωνίας τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς εἰς τὰς προσευχάς, εἴτα ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ διατελέσαντες ἔτη πέντε, τότε καὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἐφαπτέσθωσαν· ἐξεταζέσθω δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ ἐν 5 τῇ ὑποπτώσει βίος, καὶ οὕτως τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας· εἰ δέ τινες κατακόρως ἐν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι γεγόνασι, τὴν μακρὰν ἐχέτωσαν ὑπόπτωσιν. ὅσοι δὲ ὑπερβάντες τὴν ἡλικίαν ταύτην καὶ γυναικας ἔχοντες περιπεπτῶκασιν τῷ ἁμαρτήματι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεσιν ὑποπεσόντες, κοινωνίας 10 τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς εἰς τὰς προσευχάς, εἴτα ἐκτελέσαντες πέντε ἔτη ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν εὐχῶν τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς προσφορᾶς. εἰ δέ τινες καὶ γυναικας ἔχοντες καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὸν πεντηκοταετῆ χρόνον ἡμάρτον, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ βίου τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς κοινωνίας. 15

xvi 1 Περι] add δε γ (exc O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub>) 4 εἴτα] add και V<sub>1</sub> γ (exc O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub>)  
P<sub>11</sub> f bals ετη πεντε hinc incipit P<sub>9</sub> om της [προσφ.]  
R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> O<sub>3</sub> 8 οσοι δε] hic incipit novus canon O<sub>2</sub> V<sub>8</sub> R<sub>2</sub>  
12 ετη] add ετερα δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) joh 1 2 4 (joh 3 6 om ετερα) altero  
quinquennio isid in qua quinquennio durantes dion

xvi 1 αλογευν. O<sub>4</sub> P<sub>11</sub> αλλογευν. F<sub>1</sub> L om και [αλογ.] CP<sub>13</sub> Mon joh 2 3  
zon 2 3 bals 3 2 ετεσιν] ετη zon 3 κοινων. . . προσευχ.] κοινωνητωσαν  
των προσευχων O<sub>7</sub> om κοινων. τυγχ. L τυγχανητωσαν O<sub>1</sub> τυγχανητω M<sub>2</sub>  
προσευχ.] add εἴτα και ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ διατελέσαντες κοινωνίας τυγχανητω-  
σαν της εἰς τὰς προσευχας V<sub>1</sub>\* της] τοις V<sub>2</sub> 4 ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ κοινωνίας  
V<sub>4</sub> διατελετωσαν M<sub>3</sub> και [τοτε] O<sub>1</sub> om τοτε O<sub>6</sub> 5 om ἐξετα-  
ζεσθω . . . φιλανθρωπ. R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>7</sub> (in marg O<sub>7</sub>) om δε F<sub>2</sub> 6 υποπτ.]  
υποστασει M<sub>3</sub> εποπτωσει L 7 κατακ.] κακουργως bals 1\* 3 4 αμαρτημ.]  
add τουτοις e 8 εχετωσαν την μακραν ἐν R<sub>9</sub> υποπτωσιν εχετ. ἐν P<sub>11</sub>  
joh 2 3 6 9 om ταυτην P<sub>10</sub> om και [γυν.] P<sub>11</sub> joh 3 γυναικα  
P<sub>11</sub> zon bals 4 10 αμαρτημ.] add τουτω M<sub>2</sub> L zon-com om  
ετσει P<sub>11</sub> ετη joh 2 ετ. υποπεσ.] ετη υποπεσετωσαν και O<sub>5</sub> 11 τυγ-  
χαν.] αξιοουσθωσαν L της] την R<sub>5</sub> om της εἰς τὰς . . . τυγχανητ. P<sub>14</sub>  
ευχας V<sub>1</sub> joh 1 2 6 12 ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ της κοινωνίας L ευχων] προσευχων  
V<sub>3</sub> συντυγχανητωσαν O<sub>2</sub> V<sub>5</sub> om της [πρ.] O<sub>3</sub> προσφορ.] κοινωνίας L O<sub>5</sub>  
13 εἰ δε τιν.] οἱ τε τινες P<sub>9</sub> υπερανabantes O<sub>8</sub> P<sub>14</sub> om και υπ. F<sub>1</sub>\*  
14 πεντηκοταετη R<sub>2</sub> πεντε και εικοστον P<sub>11</sub> πεντηκοστον bals 2 (? O<sub>5</sub>)  
πεντηετη F<sub>1</sub>\* της κοινων. τυγχ. ἐν V<sub>4</sub>

xvii Τους ἀλογευσμένους καὶ λεπρούς ὄντας ἤτοι λεπρώσαντας, τούτους προσέταξεν ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος εἰς τοὺς χειμαζομένους εὐχέσθαι.

xviii Εἰ τινες ἐπίσκοποι κατασταθέντες καὶ μὴ δεχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς παροικίας ἐκείνης, εἰς ἣν ὠνομάσθησαν, ἐτέραις βούλονται παροικίαις ἐπιέναι καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς καθεστῶτας καὶ στάσεις κινεῖν κατ' αὐτῶν, τούτους ἀφορίζεσθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι βούλονται εἰς τὸ πρεσβυτέρειον καθέζεσθαι, ἔνθα ἦσαν 5 πρότερον πρεσβύτεροι, μὴ ἀποβάλλεσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς τιμῆς· ἐὰν δὲ διαστασιάωσι πρὸς τοὺς καθεστῶτας ἐκεῖ ἐπισκόπους, ἀφαιρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ γίνεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκκληρύκτους.

xix Ὅσοι παρθενίαν ἐπαγγελόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τὸν τῶν διγάμων ὄρον ἐκπληροῦτωσαν· τὰς μέντοι συνερχομένας παρθένους τισὶν ὡς ἀδελφὰς ἐκωλύσαμεν.

xviii 1 Οιτινες P<sub>2</sub> O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>6</sub> P<sub>3</sub> C M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> P<sub>11</sub>, P<sub>13</sub> 3 εγ[καθεστῶτας] δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) joh 4 6 4 εαν μεντοι hinc deficit R<sub>6</sub> 6 αποβαλεσθαι R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub> δ (exc M<sub>3</sub> P<sub>11</sub>) 7 διαστασιασονται V<sub>4</sub> διαστασιαζονται F<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub> στασιαζωσι C R<sub>2</sub>\* Mon P<sub>13</sub> L O<sub>8</sub> f bals 4 matt 8 οτι και [την τιμ.] R<sub>6</sub> O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub>

xix 1 Ὅσοι hinc incipit denuo P<sub>8</sub> επαγγελ. α (R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> O<sub>2</sub> P<sub>4</sub> V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>5</sub>) cum β (exc R<sub>3</sub> P<sub>6</sub> P<sub>8</sub>) γ Mon P<sub>13</sub> O<sub>8</sub> f joh 6 zon zon-com bals επαγγελομενοι F<sub>2</sub> R<sub>3</sub> P<sub>6</sub> P<sub>8</sub> P<sub>11</sub> V<sub>4</sub> L P<sub>14</sub> joh 3 επαγγεilaμενοι P<sub>2</sub> O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>6</sub> δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) joh 1 2 4 aristenus professi, polliciti isid quanti promiserunt prisca promittentes dion 2 ουτοι [τον] δ joh (cum joh 7): deest in latt 3 οτι ως R<sub>1</sub> O<sub>3</sub> αδελφοις f bals matt aristenus αδελφους L tanquam sorores latt

xvii 1 αλογενομ. R<sub>6</sub> 2 εαντους P<sub>11</sub> προεταξεν R<sub>2</sub> προσεταξεν τούτους tr V<sub>1</sub> bals 3 προσευχεσθαι P<sub>11</sub> f joh

xviii 1 υπο] παρα V<sub>4</sub> bals 3 2 βουλονται O<sub>6</sub> βουλονται zon 3 3 επιεναι] εισιεναι F<sub>3</sub> απιεναι L f 4 συστασεις O<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> καθ εαυτων O<sub>6</sub> αφορ] add ενθα ησαν προτερον πρεσβυτεροι F<sub>1</sub> 5 καθεζεσθαι V<sub>3</sub> καθ. εις το πρ. tr P<sub>13</sub> προτεροι V<sub>4</sub> 6 οτι της O<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub> 7 οτι εαν διασταζ. . . . την τιμην P<sub>11</sub> προς] πρους O<sub>4</sub> επισκ.] επιτροποις P<sub>10</sub> 8 αυτοις L πρεσβυτερον C Mon P<sub>13</sub> P<sub>16</sub> bals 3 matt 9 οτι αυτους L P<sub>14</sub> εκκληρυκτους V<sub>3</sub>

xix 1 επαγγ] add καν ανδρες ειεν καν γυναικες (ex comm. Zonarae) P<sub>11</sub> 2 τω . . . ορω L πληρουτ. L P<sub>14</sub> εκπληρ. ορον tr R<sub>2</sub>

- xx Ἐάν τινος γυνή μοιχευθῇ ἢ μοιχεύσῃ τις, ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσι  
δεῖ αὐτὸν τοῦ τελείου τυχεῖν κατὰ τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς προ-  
άγοντας.
- xxi Περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἐκπορνεουσῶν καὶ ἀναιρουσῶν τὰ  
γεννώμενα καὶ σπουδαζουσῶν φθόρια ποιεῖν, ὁ μὲν πρότερος  
ὅρος μέχρις ἐξόδου ἐκώλυσεν, καὶ τούτῳ συντίθενται· φιλαν-  
θρωπότερον δέ τι εὐρόντες ὥρिसαμεν δεκαετῇ χρόνον κατὰ  
τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς ὠρισμένους. 5
- xxii Περὶ ἐκουσίων φόνων, ὑποπιπτέτωσαν μὲν, τοῦ δὲ τελείου ἐν  
τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου καταξιούσθωσαν.
- xxiii Ἐπὶ ἀκουσίων φόνων, ὁ μὲν πρότερος ὅρος ἐν ἑπταετίᾳ κε-  
λεύει τοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὠρισμένους βαθμούς·  
ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τὸν πενταετῇ χρόνον πληρῶσαι.

- xx 2 δει α cum γ δ V<sub>4</sub> Mon joh phot bals δοκει β (P<sub>5</sub> def) P<sub>13</sub> e f zon  
reddatur isid consequi oportet dion oportet prisca προσαγοντας  
R<sub>5</sub>\* R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> O<sub>7</sub>
- xxi 2 σπουδασαν δ (exc M<sub>3</sub> P<sub>11</sub>) πρως δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) joh 3 (joh 1  
2 4 6 προτερος) πρωτερος P<sub>11</sub> antiqua isid dion primum constitu-  
tum prisca 3 συντιθεται γ (exc P<sub>9</sub>) V<sub>4</sub> f joh 2 4 συντιθεσθαι  
P<sub>9</sub>: latt om και τουτ. συντιθ. 4 χρονον] add πληρωςαι F<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> δ  
joh 1 2 3 4 ωρισμεν.] add πληρωςαι V<sub>1</sub> γ f phot bals: πληρ. deest  
in latt
- Ordo cc. xxii, xxiii invertitur in P<sub>8</sub> P<sub>13</sub> e f zon bals matt
- xxiii 1 επι α cum β (exc O<sub>4</sub> P<sub>8</sub>) γ P<sub>11</sub> V<sub>4</sub> Mon joh 2 3 6 phot Περι O<sub>4</sub> P<sub>8</sub>  
C δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) P<sub>13</sub> e f joh 1 4 zon bals 3 εκπληρωσαι δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>)  
explere dion

- xx 1 τινος] τις V<sub>1</sub> 2 οτι τυχειν F<sub>1</sub>\* κατα τους προ. βαθ. P<sub>13</sub>
- xxi 1 οτι των L πορνεουσων V<sub>1</sub> εκπορνεουσων V<sub>5</sub> P<sub>11</sub> αναιρουντων O<sub>4</sub>  
2 γενομενα O<sub>4</sub> R<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub> P<sub>11</sub> V<sub>4</sub> γενομενα V<sub>1</sub>\* R<sub>5</sub> F<sub>3</sub> M<sub>3</sub> O<sub>4</sub> P<sub>14</sub> γεγεννημενα L  
και [φθορια] C φθοροποιειν P<sub>11</sub> joh 3 3 εκωλυε phot 4 οτι δε  
P<sub>11</sub> οτι τι O<sub>6</sub> R<sub>2</sub>\* ευρ.] ποιουντες P<sub>15</sub> P<sub>16</sub> bals matt 5 ad finem  
add τη αγια συνοδα V<sub>4</sub> τον του προσκλαιοντος του ακρωμενου του υποπεσον-  
τος τους συνεστωτας (schol. in M<sub>1</sub> ε. c. 1111 Ζουλαγας) M<sub>3</sub>
- xxii 1 των [εκουσ.] F<sub>2</sub> P<sub>6</sub> bals 4 υποπιπετ. R<sub>3</sub> μεν] δε L του τελ.  
δε tr f zon 3 bals τελειου] τελους L προς τω τελει P<sub>11</sub> joh  
2 αξιουσθωσαν L
- xxiii 1 ακουσ.] add δε Mon πρωτερος F<sub>1</sub>\* M<sub>1</sub> P<sub>12</sub> V<sub>3</sub> πρως F<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub> joh 4  
επτα ετη P<sub>11</sub> επταετι F<sub>2</sub> 3 οτι τον O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>7</sub>

- xxiv Οἱ καταμαντευόμενοι καὶ ταῖς συνηθείαις τῶν ἔθνων ἑξακο-  
λουθοῦντες ἢ εἰσάγοντές τινας εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους ἐπὶ  
ἀνευρέσει φαρμακείων ἢ καὶ καθάρσει, ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιπτέ-  
τωςαν τῆς πενταετίας κατὰ τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς ὀρισμένους,  
τρία ἔτη ὑποπτώσεως καὶ δύο ἔτη εὐχῆς χωρὶς προσφορᾶς. 5
- xxv Μνηστευσάμενός τις κόρην προσεφθάρη τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς,  
ὥς καὶ ἐπιφορῆσαι αὐτήν· ἔγνημεν δὲ τὴν μνηστὴν μετὰ ταῦτα,  
ἡ δὲ φθαρεῖσα ἀπήγξατο· οἱ συνειδότες ἐκελεύσθησαν ἐν  
δεκαετίᾳ δεχθῆναι εἰς τοὺς συνεστῶτας κατὰ τοὺς ὀρισμένους  
βαθμούς. 5

xxiv 1 χρονων P<sub>3</sub> P<sub>5</sub> P<sub>6</sub>\* F<sub>1</sub>\* O<sub>6</sub> P<sub>8</sub> C V<sub>2</sub> κατακολουθ. P<sub>11</sub> f bals  
3 αναιρεσει V<sub>4</sub> Mon P<sub>13</sub> L O<sub>8</sub> f matt ανερευνησει P<sub>11</sub> joh 2 (αναιρευ-  
νησει joh 3) om και O<sub>2</sub> P<sub>4</sub> V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>5</sub> V<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> L f bals 134  
5 της [υποπτ.] δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) joh 14

xxv 1 εαν [προσεφθαρη] γ (exc R<sub>2</sub>: O<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> del εαν) V<sub>4</sub> si quis sponsam  
habens isid sed quidam sponsam habens cod monac 6243 et dion  
2 επιφορησαι α (exc R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub>\*) cum R<sub>3</sub> P<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> O<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> δ (exc M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub>) V<sub>4</sub>  
Mon<sup>a</sup> P<sub>13</sub> L joh 2 3 6 7 phot bals επιφορεσαι R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub>\* β (exc R<sub>3</sub> P<sub>6</sub>)  
Mon\* O<sub>8</sub> P<sub>14</sub> joh 1 zon εμφορησαι γ (επιφορησαι O<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> εφορησαι F<sub>3</sub>)  
επιφορτισαι (ex schol M<sub>1</sub>) M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub> joh 4 8 επιφωρασαι f 3 η δε  
αδελφη η φθ. δ joh: η αδελφη deest in latt 4 δεκα ετεσιν P<sub>13</sub>  
e f zon

xxiv 2 οικους αυτων M<sub>1</sub> οικ. εαυτ. joh 3 3 om η F<sub>2</sub> joh 2 3 4 η και και O<sub>4</sub>  
καθαρσει] ανευρεσει O<sub>1</sub>\* 4 πεντα.] εξαετιας L 5 om ετη [ευχης] P<sub>11</sub> e  
om ευχης P<sub>11</sub> P<sub>13</sub> joh 2 3 4 om χωρις F<sub>1</sub>\* της [προσφ.] P<sub>11</sub>

xxv 1 εαν τις πρ. O<sub>1</sub>\* προσεφθαρη P<sub>10</sub> f joh 2 προσεφθαρει δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) V<sub>4</sub> joh 3 4  
2 om και [επιφορ.] C επιφορτησαι schol. in M<sub>1</sub> V et in marg V<sub>3</sub> et in  
textu joh 8 μνηστευθεισαν M<sub>3</sub> μεταυτα V<sub>3</sub> 3 om δε P<sub>11</sub>  
oi] add δε R<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1</sub> συναιδοτες O<sub>7</sub> 4 δεκατια P<sub>3</sub> om δεχθηναι R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>7</sub>\*  
(in marg O<sub>7</sub>) eis] autous P<sub>11</sub> 5 θειους [βαθμ.] V<sub>4</sub>

In textu P<sub>13</sub> ἑρμηνεῖται ex comm. Zonarae sequuntur cc. x, xiv, xv; in textu  
C ἑρμηνεῖται quae nec in Zonara nec in Balsamone reperiuntur, sequuntur  
cc. vi (σκοπεῖ πῶς τὴν κοινωνίαν κ. τ. λ.), x (δοκεῖ μάχεσθαι κ. τ. λ.); cf. etiam  
cc i, vi.

B. ESSAY.

The aim of the present essay is to offer a small contribution to the work of forming an accurate text of the Canons: a work which has indeed yet to be begun. For the great editors of the Canons from Justel downwards have practically omitted that part of their labours: they have consulted but few MSS, and in their editions have as a rule specified the authorities neither for their text, nor for the variants which they have added. It is true that Cardinal Pitra felt the deficiency and set himself to the task; but his *apparatus criticus* is not only inadequate, and by no means exhaustive, but also incorrect, some of the readings he cites from Vatican MSS being certainly wrong<sup>1</sup>. Thus in the want of a critical edition errors have become stereotyped in the printed text; for example, confining ourselves in this essay to the Canons of Ancyra, I have been able to find no MS authority whatever for two readings in the edition at present most accessible, I mean that of Bruns<sup>2</sup>, viz.: cc. xv ἀναβαλεῖσθαι, xxiv om τοὺς [ὀρισμένους]; his reading ἔτη ὑποπεσέωσαν καὶ (c. xvi) only occurs in one MS, O<sub>5</sub>; other readings have only very weak, or late authority, e.g. in c. xiii, χωρεπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ μηδέ. Again, many of the variants given in his footnotes I have come across in no MS, e.g. c. i προσαχθῶσι, iii περισκεθέντας, ἀμαρτήσαντας, x γαμεῖν, xvi Περὶ τῶν ἀλόγως κ.τ.λ., xxi συνπίθενται, while most of the readings cited from Beveredge are really due to Balsamon, as Beveredge's text was simply a reprint of a fourteenth century MS of Balsamon's commentary (bals 2).

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in his *app. crit.* on the Ancyran Canons, c. ii *ἱερὰς om vatic. 2 (= R<sub>3</sub>)*, iii *ὑπὸ τιναν, cum vatic.*, iv *σφοδρότέρῳ vatic. 2, vi om τις vatic. 2, 3, xiii χωρεπισκόπους vulgo, ἐν ἐκάστῳ vatic. 2, xx ἔάν τις γυνή vatic. 2*, are certainly wrong.

<sup>2</sup> *Can. Apost. et Concil. recognovit H. T. Bruns.* Berlin, 1839. His text is based on Mansi's edition of 1759.

For the present *apparatus criticus* we have collations of 45 MSS of the Councils and about 12 MSS of editors and commentators, the printed texts of the commentators and Latin versions, with a few readings from MSS of the latter. The examination of these authorities points to some preliminary considerations.

(a) The early MSS, at least those of the tenth and eleventh century, very readily fall into three distinct groups, α, β, γ : in the five oldest of our MSS, of the tenth century, we have an extreme and exclusive type of each of these groups. However as the MSS get later, we find the lateness of date marked not only by a great increase in the number of variants and in inaccuracy, but also by confusion between the group readings. In the twelfth century, for instance (when also a new and distinct group δ comes first within our view), a MS of α, V<sub>1</sub>, begins to show several distinct readings of γ and δ ; e.g. it reads with γ δ c. viii *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xiv *βδελύσσονται*, xxi *add πληρώσαι* : with δ, c. vi *μόνη* (*cf.* γ), xv *πεπραγμένων* : with γ, c. iii *προσδεχθήτωσαν*, vii [*ἴδια*] *δέ, x καθιστάμενοι ὅσοι διεμαρτύραντο, παρασιωπήσαντες*, xv [*Περὶ*] *δέ, xvi [εἴτα] καί*. In β also we find for the first time signs of connection with δ, e.g. P<sub>8</sub> reads c. iii *περισχεθέντας, ἐμβαλόντων*, and with C v *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xxiii *Περὶ*, C also has xiv *βδελύσσονται*. In the next century, our α MS O<sub>6</sub> has characteristics both of β (c. ii *ιερὰς, τούτους*, iv *σφοδρότέρῳ*) and of δ (c. i *ἀναπαλαίσαντας*, iii *ἐμβαλόντων*, viii *κοινωνήτωσαν*, xiv *βδελύσσονται*, xv *πεπραγμένων*, xix *ἐπαγγειλάμενοι*). We also reach some MSS which might be assigned to α, but have so many agreements with other families, that they are best left apart. E.g. V<sub>4</sub> has c. ii *τούτους* with β, cc. v and viii *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xv *πεπραγμένων* with δ, and c. ii *ἄρτον*, viii *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xv *τῷ κυριακῷ*, xxi *συντίθεται*, xxv *ἐὰν προσεφθάρη* with γ—but on the other hand c. xiv *εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται* with α : V<sub>4</sub> is also marked by a number of interpolations, e.g. *φησιν, ὥς εἴρηται, τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ*, etc. Mon. has some marked coincidences with β, e.g. c. iii *προσάγεσθαι*, vi *om τις*, xv *εἴσοδον*, but also c. v

κοινωνείτωσαν with δ, xiv βδελύσσουτο with γ δ. Further these later MSS have a number of entirely new, or exegetical, readings. This confusion then of group readings occurring only in late MSS ought not to affect our division of the earlier MSS. It will only serve to show (1) that these readings are likely corrections or errors, and so were such in their origin, or (2) that the existence of certain various readings and recensions had become known and exercised influence. At the same time in our treatment of the groups we must bear in mind the distinction between these two classes of variations: (1) those peculiar to the group, or 'group readings,' (2) those supported by other groups or external evidence, which may accordingly be, not marks of a group, but the right reading.

(b) There is another cause to which probably a great number of the various readings are due. From very early times, from John of Antioch in the sixth century onwards the Canons have been subject to the operations of numerous editors and commentators: editors who have arranged the Canons in collections (*συντάγματα*) according to their subject-matter, such as John Scholasticus, presbyter of Antioch, patriarch of Constantinople in 564, Photius, patriarch in the ninth century, Symeon the Logothete, and the *hieromonachus* Matthew Blastar (c. 1335), and commentators who have written commentaries on the text, such as John Zonaras, *drungarius* and *protos a secretis*, who wrote before 1120, Alexander Aristenus, and Theodore Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, disappointed of the patriarchate of Constantinople about 1190. If these numerous editors have not arbitrarily emended the text, yet their glosses and interpretations may easily have caused variants, as in some MSS their actual words have crept into the text: thus comments of Zonaras occur in the text of M<sub>3</sub> (cc. v, xxi), of LO<sub>8</sub> P<sub>14</sub> (c. vii), and of P<sub>13</sub> (c. xix); other scholia are found in P<sub>8</sub> (c. i) and C (cc. i, vi). Hence if we find a variant in some MSS agreeing with the text of a commentator, and not of older date, we shall not err in ascribing it to his influence;

and in fact we shall not err in assigning to that source the great mass of late variants. To confirm this presumption we give a list of readings occurring in late MSS and also in Zonaras and Balsamon and possibly due to them:—

- c. iv *om* μόνης bals V<sub>1</sub>  
 v *add* χρόνῳ zon P<sub>13</sub> O<sub>8</sub> P<sub>14</sub>  
*add* ἔτει bals f  
 vi τὴν ἐξαετίαν bals e f  
 vii ἡ [καὶ φαρ.] zon bals matt P<sub>13</sub> e f  
 ἕκαστον μ. τῆς προσφ. zon bals P<sub>13</sub> e f  
 ἐστι τὸ [δοκιμ.] bals f  
 xi ἵπ. ἀλλ. ἀρπ. μετὰ ταῦτα (*tr*) bals V<sub>1</sub> f  
 μνηστευσαμένοις zon bals 3 matt F<sub>3</sub>\* L P<sub>13</sub> P<sub>14</sub> f  
 xiii χωρεπίσκοπον bals-com matt P<sub>13</sub>  
 πρεσβύτερον zon 2 3 bals-com (matt) C P<sub>13</sub>  
 xiv *om* καὶ [ἀπεχομ.] zon bals P<sub>13</sub> e f  
 [κρατεῖν] αὐτῶν zon 2 bals f  
*om* ὡς μηδέ bals f  
 xv εἰ προσήκει bals f  
 xvii προσέταξεν τοῦτοις (*tr*) bals V<sub>1</sub>  
 xix ἀδελφοῖς aristenus bals matt f  
 xxi ποιῶντες bals matt P<sub>16</sub> (P<sub>16</sub>)  
 cc. xxii, xxiii *invert* zon bals matt P<sub>8</sub> P<sub>13</sub> ef  
 xxii τοῦ τελ. δέ (*tr*) bals f  
 xxiv κατακολουθοῦντες bals P<sub>11</sub> f  
 xxv δεκά ἔτεσιν zon P<sub>13</sub> e f

The following readings are probably due to Matthew Blastar:—

- c. xiii διὰ γραμμάτων matt f  
 xiv εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑπέικοιεν matt f  
 xviii τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου matt f  
 cf. c. xxiv ἀναιρέσει matt V<sub>4</sub> Mon P<sub>13</sub> L O<sub>8</sub> f

The following readings, which are certainly not right, should also be noticed:—

- c. v τριετία O<sub>3</sub> P<sub>8</sub> C V<sub>2</sub> F<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> Mon e f zon bals aristenus  
 vi [συνόδου] αὐτῆς P<sub>3</sub> F<sub>1</sub> C f zon bals  
 τὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας P<sub>3</sub> F<sub>1</sub> C Mon P<sub>13</sub> zon  
 x ἐμαρτυρήσαντο P<sub>3</sub> F<sub>1</sub>\* C Mon\* L f zon

Readings which may be due to Photius are:—

- c.vii ἐκάστω . . . ἐξέστω phot O<sub>6</sub>  
xiii ἐπισκόποις πόλεως phot R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub> C<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>  
xxi [ὠρισμ.] πληρῶσαι phot V<sub>1</sub> γ f bals

The close relation between the texts of John of Antioch and group δ will be considered later on.

(c) The extent of the difficulty caused by the influence of editors and commentators will be seen, when we realize that we have no independent MS prior to their work. Zonaras and Balsamon are indeed late (twelfth century), but we have no MS older than the ninth century, in which Photius lived, while John of Antioch dates three centuries earlier, and the MSS of his *Syntagma* are about as old as those which we possess of the Canons themselves. Thus we have no independent MSS, and in fact the families of the MSS do seem to correspond to the texts of these editors: the text of John Schol. and of δ are very similar; the same might almost be said of α and Photius; and, though indeed there is not the same extent of similarity, yet the texts of Zonaras and Balsamon seem based on those of β and γ respectively—at least there are several coincidences which point to this conclusion; lastly, some striking coincidences imply that the text of f with its numerous fresh variants is that of Matthew Blastar. To form an estimate of the trustworthiness of these editors we can only argue from (1) internal evidence and (2) the renderings of the versions.

Of the versions, the most important is the Latin, which we possess in three forms, in the so-called Isidorian and 'Prisca' versions, and in the translation of Dionysius Exiguus. This evidence ought to be important, as the versions were made early; the Isidorian in the first half, and the Prisca in the second half of the fifth century, while Dionysius must have translated the Canons before 523, when Pope Hormisdas died<sup>1</sup>. On the other

<sup>1</sup> For all statements concerning the Latin versions and mss reference is made once for all to Maassen *Geschichte der Quellen in der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande*.

hand, the Latin is not so helpful as it ought to be, (a) because of the variety of the translations: of the so-called Isidorian version there are two very different forms<sup>1</sup>; the two MSS<sup>2</sup> of the *Prisca* by no means agree; and of Dionysius' text there are four distinct recensions<sup>3</sup>. Further, of these versions themselves we possess at present no critical edition, the desirability of which will be seen when we come to discuss the thirteenth Canon of Ancyra. (b) The early translators seem to have been very ignorant of Greek, or at least very often quite unable to understand the meaning of the Ancyran Canons. Hence, not only do we have wrong translations, as e.g. in c. vii for τὸ δὲ εἰ χρὴ μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς κ.τ.λ. the *Prisca* gives us *quia oportet et post oblationem unumquemque episcopum probare*, but the translators give such free renderings or paraphrases as to throw little light on the original Greek. The difficult passage in c. iii περισχισθέντας ἦτοι εἰς χεῖρας was too hard for them, and they afford us no help; for c. xiv the Isidorian translators give a lengthy paraphrase, while the *Prisca* so abbreviates it that we cannot tell whether βδελύσσουτο was read or no. In the Isidorian text we have lengthy explanations of ἀλογενομένων in c. xvi and of διγᾶμων in c. xix, while it renders ὥς καὶ ἐπιφορῆσαι αὐτήν in c. xxv *eique inhaeserit tamquam suae et sibi expetendam esse coniunctionem*: ἐάν τινος γυνὴ μοιχευθῇ in c. xx, and καὶ τούτῳ συντίθενται in c. xxi it omits altogether. Even Dionysius, in spite of his claim to greater accuracy, is by no means immaculate, thus e.g. ἐφ' ἑκάστου (c. vii) he renders *et singulos actus, μετὰ γραμμάτων* (c. xiii) *vel litteris*, καὶ μὴ ὑπέλοιεν (c. xiv) *tanquam non consentientes*; καὶ τούτῳ συντιθένται in c. xxi he also omits<sup>4</sup>.

To turn now to the MSS themselves, as has been already said, the early MSS readily fall into three families α, β, γ,

<sup>1</sup> The vulgate text, and the older form found in the Freising ms (cod. monac. 6243) and the Wurzburg ms (cod. mp. th. f. 146).

<sup>2</sup> Codd. vatic. reg. 1997 and bod. mus. 101, 102, 103.

<sup>3</sup> The first and second editions by Dionysius himself, the Dionysio-Hadrian edition, and the Bobbian Dionysius.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Latin renderings given on pp. 186, 187.

and a fourth distinct family  $\delta$  appears in the twelfth century : in the case of  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , it is true, it is hard to form a fixed line of demarcation and a fixed text, but there are distinct classes of passages where we may expect variations in each group respectively, and the MSS in each group all tend towards a definite type of text. It is then time to give the characteristic readings of each group.

$\alpha$ . As this essay does not profess to restore the original text of the canons, the text of one of the groups has been printed, and that of  $\alpha$  chosen on the assumption, to be subsequently verified, that it is the nearest representative of the original text. And this on the following grounds: (1) its MS authority, including three MSS of the tenth century, is as good as or better than that of the other families; (2) these MSS give a very definite type of text; (3) this text is the easiest one to assume as the basis of the others, as it occupies a middle position from which the other three groups diverge in different directions, whereas each of the other groups possesses a number of distinctive readings which would have to be discarded before it could serve as the starting point for variation in the directions of the other groups; (4) in many cases the internal evidence is distinctly in favour of  $\alpha$ . The MSS are  $R_1 P_1 P_2$  (s. x)  $O_2 O_3 P_4 F_2$  (s. xi)  $V_1$  (s. xii)  $O_6$  (s. xiii)  $V_5$  (s. xv); and the text differs from that of Bruns as follows:—

$\alpha$ c. ii <i>ιερατικῆς</i>	Bruns: <i>ιερᾶς</i>
<i>συνείδοιεν</i>	<i>συνίδοιεν</i>
iii <i>προάγεσθαι</i>	<i>προσάγεσθαι</i>
vi <i>εἰ μέντοι τις κίνδυνος</i>	<i>εἰ μέντοι κίνδυνος</i>
vii <i>ἐξετάσαι</i>	<i>ἀξιῶσαι</i>
xiii <i>χωρεπισκόπους</i>	<i>χωρεπισκόπους</i>
<i>ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ</i>	<i>ἀλλὰ μηδέ</i>
xiv <i>εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται</i>	<i>εἰ δὲ βούλονται</i>
<i>καὶ μὴ ὑπέκιοιεν</i>	<i>καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑπέκιοιεν</i>
xv <i>ἀνακαλείσθαι</i>	<i>ἀναβαλείσθαι</i>
<i>εἴτε</i>	<i>εἴπερ</i>
<i>πρόσοδον</i>	<i>εἴσοδον</i>
xvi <i>ἔτεσιν ὑποπεσόντες</i>	<i>ἐτη ὑποπεσέτωσαν καὶ</i>

c. xx δει	δοκεῖ
xxiv ἔθνων	χρόνων
τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς ὠρισμένους	τοὺς βαθμοὺς ὠρισμένους
xxv ἐπιφορῆσαι	ἐπιφορέσαι

This text has a great similarity to that of Photius<sup>1</sup>, which however presents the following variants:—

c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας	x [ἐπιτραπήναι] αὐτοῖς
ii τούτους συνίδοιεν	xiii ἐπισκόποις πόλεως
om τῆς τε [τοῦ ἄρτου]	xiv εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται
iii ἀνάγκης	xv [τιμὴν] τοὺς κακῶς ὠνησαμέ-
προεξήτασθη	νους [εἴτε]
v [δ] προέχων [βίος]	xviii Οὔτινες (tit I, sed in tit 8
vi om ἡμέραν	Εἴ τινες)
πληρώσιν	xxi ἐκώλυε
om τις	[ὠρισμένους] πληρῶσαι
vii ἐκύστω . . . ἐξέστω	

Within the group we have these variants in more than one MS:—

c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας P <sub>2</sub> * O <sub>3</sub> O <sub>6</sub> cum P <sub>6</sub> <sup>a</sup> δ e joh phot etc	
ii τούτους O <sub>2</sub> P <sub>4</sub> O <sub>6</sub> V <sub>5</sub>	β P <sub>9</sub> M <sub>3</sub> * P <sub>11</sub> V <sub>4</sub> phot
ἐμβυλόντων F <sub>2</sub> O <sub>6</sub>	P <sub>8</sub> O <sub>1</sub> δ P <sub>13</sub> O <sub>8</sub> P <sub>14</sub> zon etc
iii προεξήτασθη P <sub>4</sub> F <sub>2</sub> V <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub> P <sub>11</sub> V <sub>4</sub> f phot
vi ἐπιτρεψάντων R <sub>1</sub> P <sub>1</sub>	
vii ἡ ἐν τόπῳ F <sub>2</sub> V <sub>5</sub>	F <sub>1</sub> <sup>a</sup> V <sub>2</sub> δ joh
viii τριετίαν O <sub>3</sub> F <sub>2</sub>	C V <sub>4</sub> Mon
ὑποπεσάτωσαν R <sub>1</sub> P <sub>1</sub> P <sub>2</sub>	R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>11</sub>
κοινωνείτωσαν V <sub>1</sub> O <sub>6</sub>	P <sub>10</sub> γ δ V <sub>4</sub> L R <sub>6</sub> f joh etc
xiv εἰ δὲ βούλωντο R <sub>1</sub> P <sub>1</sub> *	β P <sub>13</sub> P <sub>14</sub> zon
εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται V <sub>1</sub> O <sub>6</sub>	C γ δ Mon joh phot latt
xv om και [μὴ] R <sub>1</sub> P <sub>1</sub> P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	R <sub>2</sub> R <sub>6</sub>
πεπραγμένων V <sub>1</sub> O <sub>6</sub>	δ V <sub>4</sub> O <sub>8</sub> P <sub>16</sub> P <sub>17</sub>
om τὴν [τιμὴν] P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> O <sub>6</sub>	P <sub>11</sub>
xvi om τῆς [προσφ.] R <sub>1</sub> P <sub>2</sub> P <sub>6</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	
Ὅσοι δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῃ νῦν εἰσὶν O <sub>2</sub> V <sub>5</sub>	R <sub>2</sub>
συν[τυγχανέτωσαν] O <sub>2</sub> V <sub>5</sub>	
xviii Οὔτινες <sup>2</sup> P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> O <sub>6</sub>	P <sub>8</sub> C M <sub>3</sub> V <sub>4</sub> P <sub>13</sub> P <sub>14</sub>

<sup>1</sup> For whose text, however, we have to rely on the accuracy of Card. Mai's printed edition: cf. p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> This reading is not significant. The illuminator seeing *τινες* might readily suppose it to be the familiar *Οὔτινες*.

- c. xviii συστάσεις  $O_2 V_5$   
 xix ἐπαγγελάμενοι  $P_2 O_3 O_6$   $\delta$  joh 1 2 4  
 om  $\acute{\omega}s R_1 O_3$   
 xxiv om καὶ  $O_2 P_4 V_1 V_5$   $V_3 V_4 L f$  bals  
 xxv ἐπιφορέσαι  $R_1 P_1^*$   $\beta$  Mon\*  $O_3 P_{14}$  zon

The following significant readings occur in single MSS —

- in  $V_1$  c. iii προσδεχθήτωσαν cum  $\gamma$  bals  
 vi μόνῃ  $R_3 R_5 F_3 \delta P_{13}$  joh  
 vii [ἰδια] δέ  $\gamma$   
 x καθιστάμενοι ὄσοι . . .  
 διεμαρτύραντο  $\gamma$  (bals)  
 παρασιωπήσαντες ( $?R_5^*$ )  $F_3$  bals  
 xv [Περὶ] δέ  $\gamma$   
 xvi [εἴτα] καὶ  $\gamma P_{11}$  f bals  
 xvii προσέταξεν τοὺτους tr bals  
 xxi [ὠρισμ.] πληρῶσαι  $\gamma f$  phot. bals (cf  $\delta$ )  
 in  $O_3$  c. v τριετία<sup>1</sup> cum  $P_8 C V_2$  Mon e f zon bals  
 in  $F_2$  c. iii προσάγεσθαι (1a m.) cum  $\beta R_5 O_7 F_3 M_2 M_3 P_{11}$  Mon e  
 vii ἐκάστου  $P_8^a R_2 O_1 P_9 P_{11}$  joh 2 3 4 6  
 ix κοινωνεῖτωσαν  $F_1 P_{10} C R_2 O_1 M_3 V_4 P_{13} R_6 f$   
 xv τῷ κυριακῷ  $\gamma P_{11} V_4$   
 xix ἐπαγγελλόμενοι  $R_3 P_6 P_8 P_{11} V_4 L P_{14}$   
 in  $O_6$  c. ii ἱερᾶς cum  $\beta P_{13}$  e zon  
 iv σφοδρότέρῳ (1a m.)  $P_3 P_6^* F_1^* O_5 V_2$   
 viii ἐκάστῳ . . . ἐξέστω phot

Among the MSS we notice a close agreement between perhaps the two oldest MSS of all— $R_1 P_1$ , in fact they only differ in two places, c. vii  $\xi\omicron\rho\tau\eta\tau\eta\ \xi\theta\nu$ .  $R_1$  and c. ix om  $\xi\tau\eta R_1$ . Thus our two oldest MSS, and they of the tenth century, having been copied from the same archetype (hardly from one another, being of the same age), their text, which is practically  $\alpha$ , is carried back to a much earlier date. It is to be marked that these MSS agree with  $\beta$  in two significant places, cc. xiv, xxv.  $V_5$ , our latest MS included in the group, is most probably a copy of  $O_2$ , as it only varies from it in reading c. iii  $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\xi\eta$ -

<sup>1</sup>  $O_2$  also reads  $\tau\rho\iota\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  in c. viii, Mon. agreeing with it in both places: the readings here probably affected one another.

τάσθη, c. vii ἡ ἐν τόπω. In  $O_3$  we see for the first time the undoubted hand of the corrector, viz. in c. v *τριετία*; and the group further shows how the variants and agreements with other families creep in. Thus a later MS,  $O_6$  (s. xiii), has distinctive readings both of  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , and  $\delta$ , the value of which will be examined later;  $O_6$  also has an emendation of Photius in c. vii (cf. also c. xiv). Lastly,  $V_1$  has a very close agreement with  $\gamma$ , only it retains  $\alpha$ 's readings on some most decisive points; it shows a remarkable agreement in these variations and others with Balsamon, cf. the lists on p. 20.

$\beta$ . This group shows a gradual deflection from  $\alpha$ , so that it is difficult to give an exact text, but the following list of variants will show the direction and the degree of the divergence. The MSS are  $P_3$  (s. x)  $R_3 R_4 O_4 P_5 P_6 F_1 O_5$  (s. xi)  $P_7 P_8 P_{10} C$  (s. xii)  $V_2$  (s. xiii), but in  $P_5$  cc. i–xvi, and in  $P_8$  cc. vi–xviii are wanting, so that they are not counted in the following table.

Variants from  $\alpha$  in 11 MSS:—

c. xc δοκεῖ *omn* +  $P_8$  *cum*  $P_{13}$  e f zon

in 10 MSS:—

xv *ἐπὲρ*  $P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 F_1 O_5 P_7$  } Mon  $P_{13}$  e zon { *Congr.*  
 $P_{10} C V_2$  } { *cum*  $\alpha$   $P_6$

in 9 MSS:—

ii <i>τούτους</i> $P_3 R_4 O_4 P_6 F_1 O_5$ } $P_7 P_{10} V_2 (R_3 \text{ τοῦτο})$ } <i>συνίδοιεν</i> $P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 O_5$ } $P_7 P_{10} C V_2 + P_8$ }	$O_2 P_4 O_6 V_5 P_9$ $M_3^* P_{11} V_4 \text{ phot}$ $V_1 O_6 P_{11} \text{ Mon } R_6$ bals	$P_8 C$   $P_6 F_1$
iii <i>προάγεσθαι</i> $P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4$ } $F_1 O_5 P_7 C V_2 + P_8$ }	$F_2^* R_5 O_7 F_3 M_2$ $M_3 P_{11} \text{ Mon e}$	$P_6 P_{10}$
xxv <i>ἐπιφορέσαι</i> $P_3 R_4 O_4 F_1^*$ } $O_5 P_7 P_{10} C V_2 + P_5 P_8$ }	$R_1 P_1^* \text{ Mon}^* O_8$ $P_{14} \text{ zon}$	$R_3 P_6 (F_1^a)$

in 8 MSS:—

vii <i>ἁξιῶσαι</i> $P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 F_1^*$ $O_5 P_7 C$	$P_6 P_{10} V_2$
xiv <i>εἰ δὲ βούλουτο</i> $P_3 R_4 O_4$ $F_1^* O_5 P_7 P_{10} V_2^*$	$R_1 P_1^* P_{13} P_{14} \text{ zon}$ $R_3 P_6 (F_1^a V_2^a)$

in 7 MSS:—

c. ii	ιεράς P <sub>3</sub> P <sub>6</sub> F <sub>1</sub> O <sub>5</sub> P <sub>10</sub> C		
	V <sub>2</sub> + P <sub>8</sub>	O <sub>6</sub> P <sub>13</sub> e zon	R <sub>3</sub> R <sub>4</sub> O <sub>4</sub> P <sub>7</sub>
vi	ομ τις P <sub>3</sub> P <sub>6</sub> F <sub>1</sub> O <sub>5</sub> P <sub>10</sub> C V <sub>2</sub>	V <sub>8</sub> Mon P <sub>13</sub> e f zon bals	R <sub>3</sub> R <sub>4</sub> O <sub>4</sub> P <sub>7</sub>
xv	είσοδον P <sub>3</sub> P <sub>6</sub> F <sub>1</sub> O <sub>5</sub> P <sub>10</sub> C V <sub>2</sub>	Mon	R <sub>3</sub> R <sub>4</sub> O <sub>4</sub> P <sub>7</sub>

in 6 MSS<sup>1</sup>:—

xiv	εἰ [μῆ] P <sub>3</sub> * P <sub>6</sub> F <sub>1</sub> O <sub>5</sub> P <sub>10</sub> V <sub>2</sub>	P <sub>9</sub> <sup>a</sup>	P <sub>3</sub> * R <sub>3</sub> R <sub>4</sub> O <sub>4</sub> P <sub>7</sub> C
xxiv	χρόνων P <sub>3</sub> P <sub>6</sub> * F <sub>1</sub> * O <sub>5</sub> C V <sub>2</sub> + P <sub>5</sub> P <sub>8</sub>		R <sub>3</sub> R <sub>4</sub> O <sub>4</sub> P <sub>7</sub> P <sub>10</sub> (P <sub>6</sub> <sup>a</sup> F <sub>1</sub> <sup>a</sup> )

in 5 MSS:—

iv	σφοδρτέρω P <sub>3</sub> P <sub>6</sub> * F <sub>1</sub> * O <sub>5</sub> V <sub>2</sub>	O <sub>6</sub> *	R <sub>3</sub> R <sub>4</sub> O <sub>4</sub> F <sub>1</sub> <sup>a</sup> P <sub>7</sub> P <sub>10</sub> P <sub>8</sub> C
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These readings also are to be noticed:—

c. ii	τῆς μ. ἀλλης τιμῆς μετέχειν P <sub>6</sub> V <sub>2</sub> <sup>a</sup> cf R <sub>6</sub> matt	
	ομ πάσης F <sub>1</sub>	cum P <sub>11</sub> R <sub>6</sub>
	ομ τῆς [ιεράς] P <sub>10</sub>	O <sub>7</sub> δ Mon
	ἄρτου P <sub>3</sub> F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>10</sub>	P <sub>9</sub> V <sub>4</sub>
iii	περισχεθέντας P <sub>8</sub>	O <sub>1</sub> O <sub>7</sub> δ L O <sub>8</sub> R <sub>6</sub> f joh
	ἐμβαλόντων P <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>2</sub> O <sub>6</sub> O <sub>1</sub> δ P <sub>13</sub> O <sub>8</sub> P <sub>14</sub> zon
v	κοινωνείτωσαν F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>3</sub> P <sub>10</sub> C V <sub>2</sub>	P <sub>9</sub> O <sub>7</sub> δ V <sub>4</sub> Mon P <sub>13</sub> L f bals
	τριετία P <sub>8</sub> C V <sub>2</sub>	O <sub>3</sub> Mon e f zon bals
vi	μόνη R <sub>3</sub>	V <sub>1</sub> R <sub>5</sub> F <sub>3</sub> δ P <sub>13</sub> joh
	αὐτῆς P <sub>3</sub> F <sub>1</sub> C	f zon bals
	τὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας P <sub>3</sub> F <sub>1</sub> C	Mon P <sub>13</sub> zon
vii	ἡ [ἐν τόπῳ] F <sub>1</sub> <sup>a</sup> V <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>2</sub> V <sub>5</sub> δ joh ι 2 4 6
	ἐκάστου P <sub>8</sub> <sup>a</sup>	F <sub>2</sub> R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub> P <sub>11</sub> joh 2 3 4 6
viii	τριετίαν C	O <sub>3</sub> F <sub>2</sub> V <sub>4</sub> Mon
ix	μὲν ἔτη τε R <sub>4</sub> F <sub>1</sub>	P <sub>9</sub> P <sub>11</sub>
	κοινωνείτωσαν F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>10</sub> C (ητ)	F <sub>2</sub> R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub> M <sub>3</sub> V <sub>4</sub> P <sub>13</sub> R <sub>6</sub> f
x	ἐμαρτυρήσαντο P <sub>3</sub> F <sub>1</sub> * C	Mon* L f zon
xi	ομ μὴν O <sub>6</sub>	(Bruns)
	πρεσβύτερον C	P <sub>13</sub> zon
xiv	βδελύσσουτο C	V <sub>1</sub> O <sub>6</sub> γ δ Mon joh phot
xvi	ἔτη ὑποπεσέτωσαν καὶ O <sub>5</sub>	(Bruns)
xix	ἐπαγγελομένοι R <sub>3</sub> P <sub>6</sub> P <sub>8</sub>	F <sub>2</sub> P <sub>11</sub> V <sub>4</sub> L P <sub>14</sub>
xxi	[χρόνον] πληρῶσαι F <sub>1</sub> <sup>a</sup>	δ (γ)
xxii, xxiii	invert P <sub>8</sub>	P <sub>13</sub> e f zon bals matt
xxiii	Περὶ O <sub>4</sub> P <sub>8</sub> C	δ P <sub>13</sub> e f zon bals

The group seems to fall roughly into two divisions, measured by their divergence from α. Nearer to α we have R<sub>3</sub> R<sub>4</sub> O<sub>4</sub> P<sub>7</sub>

<sup>1</sup> Also an itacism c. v. ἀνακλήσεως R<sub>4</sub> O<sub>4</sub> F<sub>1</sub> O<sub>5</sub> P<sub>10</sub> C + P<sub>8</sub>.

which we may call  $\beta_1$ , and of these  $R_3$  is perhaps the closest to  $\alpha$ . Further off we have  $\beta_2$ , composed of  $P_3 F_1 O_5 P_{10} V_2$ , among which  $P_{10}$  is not so advanced as the others. We notice that these are later MSS, except  $P_3$ , which appears to be the earliest MS of  $\beta$ , and which represents the extreme limit of its variation.  $P_6$  is in a peculiar position, contradicting the order of the group, it has the peculiar marks of  $\beta_2$ , but not those variations from  $\alpha$  which are common to both  $\beta_1$  and  $\beta_2$ .  $F_1$  has been much corrected, generally into agreement with  $\alpha$ . e. g. c. iv *φαιδροτέρω*, vii *ἐξετάσαι*, x *ἐμαρτύραντο*, xiv *εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλ.* xxiv *ἐθνῶν*, xxv *ἐπιφορῆσαι*: but cf. also c. vii *ἡ ἐν τόπῳ*, xxi *ἀλλ' πληρῶσαι*.  $O_5$  is the MS whose peculiar readings in c. xiii, xvi are followed by Bruns.

The first list of readings sufficiently marks off  $\beta$  as a family by itself, distinct from the other families. The only traces of connection are in the second class of readings, and they occur mostly in later MSS, are many of them easy corruptions or obvious mistakes (cf. especially c. ii *ἄρτου*, c. vi *τὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας*, c. xix *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι*, which are clearly transitional readings), and in any case are too sporadic to interfere definitely with the division into families.

The only seeming exception is  $P_8$ , which in only twelve canons has several coincidences with  $\delta$ , c. ii *τούτοις*, iii *περισχεθέντας*, *ἐμβαλόντων*, v *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xxiii *Περί*, cf. also v *ἀνακλήσεως*, ii *θέλοιεν*, xix *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι*. The deficiencies of  $P_8$  may perhaps be supplied by C. These two MSS agree remarkably in their contents, order, etc., so that probably they are copies of the same MS: this presumption is confirmed by the striking agreement in their readings, e. g. the insertion of the same scholion in c. i, *θέλοιεν, τούτοις, τριετία, κοινωνείτωσαν, Περί, etc.*, and so, confirming the tendency of  $P_8$ , C alone of  $\beta$  reads *βδελύσσοιτο* in c. xiv. On the other hand, C does not read *περισχεθέντας, ἐμβαλόντων, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι*, which is important as showing that these readings may have been variants from his copy made by P's scribe. Nor indeed was the scribe of C very careful, as is shown by the following

mistakes or emendations, c. v τριετία, vi αὐτῆς, τὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας, λελόγισται, παροῦσαν (for πᾶσαν), viii τριετίαν, xi μεμνηστευσά-  
μένοις, xiii πρεσβύτερον, xviii Οἴτινες, στασιάζωσι, πρεσβυτέρου.

γ is a family considerably harder to define than β: in fact it seems composed of MSS in various transitional stages. However the variation seems in the direction of a certain type represented in R<sub>5</sub>, and a similar list as in the case of β will give us a class of readings distinctive of a family. The MSS are R<sub>6</sub> (s. x) R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub> (s. xi) P<sub>9</sub> (s. xii) O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub> (s. xiii); cc. i-iv are wanting in R<sub>2</sub>.

Variants from α in all the MSS:—

- c. ii *reice* ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον (R<sub>2</sub> def)  
 iii προσδεχθήτωσαν (R<sub>2</sub> def) cum V<sub>1</sub> bals  
 x διεμαρτύραντο (προ εἰ ἐμ.) bals  
 xiii *reice* πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως  
 ἐκάστη δ joh latt  
 xiv εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>6</sub> C δ Mon joh (exc 4) phot latt  
 xv τῷ κυριακῷ F<sub>2</sub> P<sub>11</sub> V<sub>4</sub>  
 xxi συντίθεται (συντίθεσθαι P<sub>9</sub>) V<sub>4</sub> f  
 [ῥορισμ.] add πληρῶσαι V<sub>1</sub> f phot bals (cf δ joh 1-4)  
 xxv ἐμφορῆσαι (O<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> ἐπιφορῆσαι F<sub>3</sub> ἐφορῆσαι)

in 5 MSS:—

- cc. iv, v = c. iv R<sub>5</sub> R<sub>2</sub> P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub> { *Congruit*  
 c. viii κοινωνήτωσαν<sup>1</sup> R<sub>6</sub> R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub><sup>a</sup> V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>6</sub> P<sub>10</sub> δ V<sub>4</sub> L R<sub>8</sub> f P<sub>9</sub> F<sub>3</sub><sup>\*</sup>  
 x καθιστάμενοι ὅσοι R<sub>6</sub> R<sub>2</sub> P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> cf bals O<sub>1</sub>  
 ἔφησαν R<sub>6</sub> R<sub>2</sub> P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub> joh 4 5 6 O<sub>1</sub>  
 xxv ἐὰν [προσεφθάρη] R<sub>6</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub><sup>\*</sup> F<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup>

in 4 MSS:—

- iii om ἡ [καὶ τ. δ.] R<sub>5</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub> F<sub>3</sub><sup>\*</sup> (R<sub>2</sub> def) O<sub>7</sub>  
 iv κοινωνήτωσαν R<sub>6</sub> P<sub>9</sub> (εἰτ.) O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub> (R<sub>2</sub> def) O<sub>1</sub>  
 vi χωρὶς ἡ μετοικισίας R<sub>6</sub> R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub> (O<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> μετοικισίας) O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub>  
 vii [ἴδια] δέ R<sub>6</sub> R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub>  
 xiii ἐπισκόποις R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> (O<sub>7</sub><sup>\*</sup> -πους) phot  
 xv [Περὶ] δέ R<sub>6</sub> R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>7</sub> F<sub>3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub>

<sup>1</sup> There is much variation between κοινωνεῖτωσαν and κοινωνήτωσαν, which is not wholly unimportant—the latter being generally found in γ and δ.

c. xvi	[Περὶ] δέ R <sub>6</sub> R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>7</sub> F <sub>3</sub>		O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub>
	[εἴτα] καὶ R <sub>6</sub> R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>7</sub> F <sub>3</sub>	V <sub>1</sub> P <sub>11</sub> f bals	O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub>
	in 3 MSS :—		
iii	προσάγεσθαι R <sub>5</sub> O <sub>7</sub> R <sub>3</sub> (R <sub>2</sub> def)	F <sub>2</sub> * β M <sub>2</sub> M <sub>3</sub> P <sub>11</sub> Mon e	O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub>
vii	ἐκίστου . . . ἔστω R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub>		R <sub>5</sub> F <sub>3</sub>
xviii	om καὶ R <sub>5</sub> O <sub>7</sub> F <sub>3</sub>		R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub>
xx	προσάγοντας R <sub>5</sub> * R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub> <sup>a</sup> O <sub>7</sub>		R <sub>5</sub> <sup>a</sup> O <sub>1</sub> * P <sub>9</sub> F <sub>3</sub>

Compare also :—

c. ii	om τῆς [ἱερατ.] O <sub>7</sub>	cum P <sub>10</sub> δ Mon
	ἄρτου ἢ ποτηρίου O <sub>1</sub> O <sub>7</sub>	
	τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν R <sub>5</sub> <sup>a</sup> F <sub>3</sub>	
	ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον P <sub>9</sub>	P <sub>3</sub> F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>10</sub> V <sub>4</sub>
	τούτους P <sub>9</sub>	O <sub>2</sub> P <sub>4</sub> O <sub>5</sub> V <sub>5</sub> β M <sub>3</sub> P <sub>11</sub> V <sub>4</sub>
iii	περισχθέντας O <sub>1</sub> O <sub>7</sub> (R <sub>2</sub> def)	P <sub>3</sub> δ L O <sub>8</sub> R <sub>6</sub> f joh
	ἐμβαλόντων O <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub> O <sub>6</sub> P <sub>8</sub> δ P <sub>13</sub> O <sub>8</sub> P <sub>14</sub> zon
	προεξηγάσθη P <sub>9</sub>	P <sub>4</sub> F <sub>2</sub> V <sub>5</sub> F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>11</sub> V <sub>4</sub> f phot
	tr εὐρίσκειτο R <sub>5</sub> F <sub>3</sub>	
	om εὐρίσκ. et add συμπράττοι P <sub>9</sub> O <sub>7</sub>	joh ι 2 3 6 cf δ
v	om ὁ [μετὰ ταῦτα] R <sub>2</sub> P <sub>9</sub>	
	κοινωνεῖτωσαν P <sub>9</sub> O <sub>7</sub> (ητ)	F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>8</sub> P <sub>10</sub> C V <sub>2</sub> δ V <sub>4</sub> Mon P <sub>13</sub>
		L f bals
	τριετία F <sub>3</sub> <sup>a</sup>	O <sub>3</sub> P <sub>8</sub> C V <sub>2</sub> Mon e f zon bals
	φιλανθρωπεύσασθαι O <sub>1</sub> * O <sub>7</sub>	
vi	μόνη R <sub>5</sub> F <sub>3</sub>	V <sub>1</sub> R <sub>3</sub> δ P <sub>13</sub> joh
	om ἔτη R <sub>5</sub> F <sub>3</sub>	P <sub>11</sub>
vii	ἐστὶ [δοκιμάσαι] O <sub>7</sub>	P <sub>6</sub> <sup>a</sup> δ e joh (cf f bals)
viii	ὑποπεσάτωσαν R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub>	R <sub>1</sub> P <sub>1</sub> P <sub>2</sub> P <sub>11</sub>
ix	κοινωνήτωσαν R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub> F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>10</sub> C M <sub>3</sub> V <sub>4</sub> P <sub>13</sub> R <sub>6</sub> f
x	παρασιωπήσαντες R <sub>5</sub> * F <sub>3</sub>	V <sub>1</sub> bals
xiii	χωρεπισκόπους R <sub>5</sub> *	P <sub>11</sub> L f bals
	χωρεπίσκοπος O <sub>1</sub> *	O <sub>5</sub>
	πρεσβυτέροις [πάλ.] R <sub>5</sub> F <sub>3</sub>	δ joh
xiv	[καὶ] εἰ [μὴ] P <sub>9</sub> <sup>a</sup>	β <sub>2</sub>
xv	πεπραμμένων O <sub>1</sub>	
xvi	om ἐξεταζέσθω . . . φιλανίας R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>7</sub> *	
	"Οσοι δέ ἱncipι nou canon R <sub>2</sub>	O <sub>2</sub> V <sub>5</sub>
xviii	ἀποβαλέσθαι R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub>	δ
	στασιάζωσι R <sub>2</sub> *	C Mon P <sub>13</sub> L O <sub>8</sub> f
xxi	συντίθεσθαι P <sub>9</sub>	
xxv	om δεχθῆναι R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>7</sub> *	

Of this family  $R_5$  gives us the extreme type, and it is the earliest MS (s. x)<sup>1</sup>.  $F_3$  is a copy of  $R_5$ , for though they have both been much corrected, yet in all its readings  $F_3$  only varies from  $R_5$  in a long omission in c. iii, *εἰσιέναι* in xviii, *ἐφορήσαι* in xxv, while a corrector has added *ῆ* in vii, and *τριετία* in v. As the readings in this group show transitional features, so the MSS themselves have undergone much correction, especially  $R_5$   $O_1$   $O_7$  and that too in significant places. With regard to other groups  $\gamma$  gives us many of  $\delta$ 's readings, especially in  $O_7$ , which is the latest MS and also full of variations, many entirely wrong.  $P_9$  seems to show a little tendency towards  $\beta$ , while it and  $O_1$  are perhaps nearest to  $\alpha$ , though the latter shows some of  $\delta$ 's readings.  $V_1$  is a MS very close to this group, being quite half way between  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$ . We also notice that several of  $\gamma$ 's readings are supported by Balsamon, while we remember that  $V_1$  shows still closer agreement with his text.

$\delta$  consists of  $M_1$   $M_2$  (s. xii, xiii)  $M_3$   $P_{11}$   $P_{12}$  (s. xiii)  $V_3$  (s. xiv), all of which, except  $P_{11}$ , have a very marked agreement, so much as to point to a single archetype.  $P_{11}$  possesses only about half of the distinctive readings of this group, but its own variations are so wide and so independent that it can be assigned to no other group. In consequence of the similarity of the text of John of Antioch, the readings of his MSS (for which cf. p. 141) are also given.

Variations from  $\alpha$ :—

<i>tit.</i>	<i>ἀγίων καὶ</i>	<i>exc</i> $P_{11}$ $M_3$		
i	<i>ἀναπαλαίσαντας</i>		<i>cum</i> $joh$ $P_2^*$ $O_3$ $O_6$ $P_6^a$ e phot	
	<i>om</i> [λειτουργεῖν] <i>τι</i>	$P_{11}$	<i>joh</i> 4	<i>Discrepant</i> $joh$ 1 2 3 6
ii	<i>ὡσαύτως ἐπιθύσαντας</i>		<i>joh</i>	
	<i>om</i> τῆς [ιερατικῆς]	$P_{11}$	<i>joh</i> 2 3 6 $P_{10}$ $O_7$ Mon	<i>joh</i> 1 4
	<i>θέλοιεν</i>	$P_{11}$	<i>joh</i> 2 4 6 $P_8$ $C R_5$ $O_7$ Mon	<i>joh</i> 1 3
	<i>ἀφελεῖν</i>	$P_{11}$	<i>joh</i> 1 2 4 6 (ζουη-com)	<i>joh</i> 3
iii	<i>ἰδίων</i>		<i>joh</i> 2 3 4 ( <i>joh</i> 1 <i>ισυδαίων</i> )	<i>joh</i> 6

<sup>1</sup> So also the extreme types of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are found in their earliest mss  $R_1$   $P_1$  and  $P_3$  respectively.

c iii	περισχεθέντας		{ joh 2 3 4 6 7 P <sub>8</sub> O <sub>1</sub> O <sub>7</sub> L O <sub>8</sub> R <sub>6</sub> f	joh 1
	ἐμβαλόντων	exc P <sub>11</sub> M <sub>3</sub>	{ joh 4 F <sub>2</sub> O <sub>8</sub> P <sub>8</sub> O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>13</sub> O <sub>8</sub> P <sub>14</sub> zon	joh 1 2 3 6
	βρώματα	P <sub>11</sub>	joh 4	joh 1 2 3 6
	οτι καὶ [ἐκωλύθ.]	P <sub>11</sub>	joh 2 4 6 e zon	joh 1 3
	διὰ τινων ἄγνοιαν		joh 2 3 4 6	joh 1
	περιπεσόντες		joh	
	αὐτὸ ἢ συμπράττοι		{ joh 4 : add συμπράττοι om εὐρίσκ. joh 1 2 3 6 7 P <sub>9</sub> O <sub>7</sub> joh cum joh 7	
iv	βίαις			joh
	ἐπιθυσάντων	{ P <sub>11</sub> ἐπιθυ- μησάντων	joh 1 2 3 4	joh 6
	[μὲν] οὖν		joh 1 3 4 6	joh 2
	δύο ἔτη (tr)	P <sub>11</sub>	joh 1 2 4 6	joh 3
v	οτι [ἔσοι] δέ	P <sub>11</sub>	joh 4	joh 1 2 3 6
	ἀνακλήσεως	V <sub>3</sub>	joh 2 3 4 et al mss	joh 1 6
	κοινωνήτῳσαν		{ joh 2 3 6 F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>8</sub> P <sub>10</sub> CV <sub>2</sub> P <sub>9</sub> O <sub>7</sub> V <sub>4</sub> Mon P <sub>13</sub> L f	joh 1 4
vi	μόνη		joh V <sub>1</sub> R <sub>3</sub> R <sub>5</sub> F <sub>3</sub> P <sub>13</sub>	
vii	ἢ [ἐν τόπῳ]		joh 1 2 4 6 F <sub>2</sub> V <sub>5</sub> V <sub>2</sub>	joh 3
	ἐστὶ [δοκιμάσαι]		joh O <sub>7</sub> e (f bals)	
viii	κοινωνήτῳσαν	P <sub>11</sub>	{ joh 1 2 3 6 V <sub>1</sub> O <sub>8</sub> P <sub>10</sub> γ V <sub>4</sub> L R <sub>6</sub> f	joh 4
ix	τῇ [ἄλλῃ]	P <sub>11</sub>		joh
x	καὶ [μετὰ ταῦτα] (μετὰ δέ M <sub>2</sub> P <sub>11</sub> )			joh
xii	[προάγεσθαι] δεῖν	P <sub>12</sub>	joh 1 2 3 4	joh 6
xiii	πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως	P <sub>11</sub>	joh 2 3 4 5 6 8 R <sub>5</sub> F <sub>3</sub>	joh 1
	ἐκάστη		joh 1-8 γ omn codd latt	
xiv	βδελύσσονται (ἐβδελύσσονται P <sub>11</sub> )		{ joh 1 2 3 5 6 8 V <sub>1</sub> O <sub>6</sub> Cγ Mon phot omn codd latt	joh 4
xv	πεπραγμένων		joh 2 3 V <sub>1</sub> O <sub>6</sub> V <sub>4</sub> O <sub>8</sub> P <sub>16</sub> P <sub>17</sub>	joh 1 2 6
xvi	ἔτη [ἔτερα]	P <sub>11</sub>	joh 1 2 4	joh 3 6
xviii	ἐγκαθεστῶτας	P <sub>11</sub>	joh 4 6	joh 1 2 3
	ἀποβαλέσθαι	P <sub>11</sub> M <sub>3</sub>	R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub>	joh
xix	ἐπαγγελάμενοι	{ P <sub>11</sub> (ἐπαγ- γελόμ.)	joh 1 2 4 P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> O <sub>6</sub>	joh 3 6
	οὔτοι [τόν]		joh	
xxi	σπουδασῶν <sup>1</sup>	P <sub>11</sub> M		joh

<sup>1</sup> This points to a very close connection between M<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> P<sub>11</sub> V<sub>3</sub>.

c. xxi πρῶτος	P <sub>11</sub>	joh 3	joh 1 2 4 6
[χρόνον] πληρῶσαι		{ joh 1 2 3 4 F <sub>1</sub> <sup>a</sup> , cf V <sub>1</sub> γ f phot bals	joh 6
xxiii Περὶ	P <sub>11</sub>	{ joh 1 4 O <sub>4</sub> P <sub>8</sub> C P <sub>13</sub> e f zon bals	joh 2 3 6
ἐκπληρῶσαι	P <sub>11</sub>		joh
xxiv τῆς [ὑποπτῶς.]	P <sub>11</sub>	joh 1 4	joh 2 3 6
xxv ἡ [δὲ ἀδελφὴ ἡ]		joh	

Besides σπουδασῶν the following itacisms, etc. occur: c. i τὸ δοκεῖν M M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub> P<sub>11</sub> V<sub>3</sub>, iii προσεξετάσθη M<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>3</sub>, xiv ὑπήκοιεν omn. xxiv συνηθίαις, φαρμακίων M<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>3</sub>, xxv προσεφθάρει omn. exc. P<sub>11</sub>. Further, in cc. v and xxi scholia of M<sub>1</sub> have crept into the text of M<sub>3</sub>, and in c. xxv M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub> read ἐπιφορτίσαι, probably due to a marginal note of M<sub>1</sub> (or of M<sub>1</sub>'s archetype) ἐπιφορτήσαι.

The following variations in the group are to be noticed:—

c. iii τοιαύτη M <sub>3</sub> P <sub>11</sub>		
προσάγεσθαι M <sub>2</sub> M <sub>3</sub> P <sub>11</sub>	cum joh 6 β R <sub>5</sub> O <sub>7</sub> F <sub>3</sub> Mon e	
ix κοινωνήτωσαν M <sub>3</sub>	joh 3 4 6 F <sub>2</sub> F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>10</sub> C R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub> V <sub>4</sub> P <sub>13</sub> R <sub>6</sub> f	
ἐπιτηρεῖσθω P <sub>12</sub> V <sub>3</sub>	R <sub>3</sub>	
xxiii πρῶτος M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>12</sub> V <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>1</sub> <sup>*</sup>	
πρῶτος M <sub>3</sub>	joh 4 F <sub>2</sub>	
xxiv οὐ καὶ [καθάρσει] V <sub>3</sub>	O <sub>2</sub> P <sub>4</sub> V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>5</sub> V <sub>4</sub> L f	
xxv ἐπιφορτίσαι M <sub>2</sub> M <sub>3</sub>	joh 4 8	

To finally characterize P<sub>11</sub>, besides all the differences from the group already given, we have further variations, agreeing more or less with joh<sup>1</sup>:—

c. ii τούτους συνίδοιεν	cum joh 2 β etc
vii ἐκάστου	joh 2 3 4 6 F <sub>2</sub> R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub>
ix τοὺς [ἀδελφούς]	joh 2 3 4 6
xiii χωρεπισκόπους	joh 2 3 8 R <sub>5</sub> <sup>*</sup> L f
xvi ὑποπτ. ἐχέρ. (tr)	joh 2 3 6
οὐ καὶ [γυναίκας]	joh 3
xvii προσεύχεσθαι	joh f
xxi φθοροποιεῖν	joh 3

<sup>1</sup> In all these readings (except one) P<sub>11</sub> agrees with joh 3.

c. xxii πρὸς τῷ τέλει	<i>cum</i> joh
xxiv ἀνερευνήσει	joh 2 (3)
om εὐχῆς	joh 2 3 4 P <sub>13</sub>

with other MSS, besides readings already given :—

c. ii om πάσης	<i>cum</i> F <sub>1</sub> R <sub>8</sub>
iii προεξηγάσθη	P <sub>4</sub> F <sub>2</sub> V <sub>5</sub> F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub> V <sub>4</sub> f
vi om [δύω] ἔτη	R <sub>5</sub> F <sub>3</sub>
ix μὲν ἔτη ( <i>tr</i> )	R <sub>4</sub> F <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub>
xv τῷ κυριακῷ	F <sub>2</sub> γ V <sub>4</sub>
om τὴν [τιμὴν]	P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> O <sub>6</sub>
xvi [εἶτα] καὶ	V <sub>1</sub> γ f bals

Besides all these variations it has 28 peculiar readings, or mistakes, which it would be superfluous to enumerate.

The text of δ is not identical with that of John of Antioch. All the MSS of John examined reject the readings βίας (c. iv) τῇ ἄλλῃ (c. ix) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (c. x) ἀποβαλέσθαι (c. xviii) ἐκπληρῶσαι (c. xxiii), and have further variants of their own in c. x τοὺς ἀδελφούς, xvii προσεύχεσθαι, xxii πρὸς τῷ τέλει. We have four MSS agreeing against δ in c. i om τι, ii ἐμβαλόντων, βρώματα, v om δέ, and in the new reading ἐκάστου (c. vii), while we have the agreement of 3 MSS against δ in at least 9 other readings.

It is important to examine the relation of the Latin versions to δ. Owing to the nature of these translations, as well as the minute character of the variations in the Greek, it is in most cases impossible to tell the Greek original. However, in the following instances we can compare them. All the Latin translations<sup>1</sup> agree with c. xiii ἐκάστη, xiv βδελύσσονται. The *Prisca* has *primum constitutum* in c. xxi (=πρῶτος): there is also much agreement with *πρεσβυτέροις* in c. xiii, but the Latin texts themselves are very uncertain (cf. p. 187 f.). δ may be supported by the following translations, in c. ii *per aliquorum ignorantiam* isid. *propter quorundam ign.* dion., in c. xvi *altero quinquennio* isid. (?=πέντε ἔτη ἔτερα), in

<sup>1</sup> Also all the MSS examined. Over fifty MSS have been consulted as to the readings in cc. xiii, xiv, and other important variations.

c. xix *professi, polliciti* isid., *quanti promiserunt* prisca (? = ἐπαγγειλάμενοι), in c. xxiii *explere* dion. (? = ἐκπληρῶσαι).

On the other hand the Latin has *sacro* in c. ii (? = ἱερᾶς), Isidore and Dionysius both have *minis tantum* (μόνον) in c. vi, and *antiqua* in c. xxi (? = πρότερος). Dionysius and some MSS of Isidore have c. iii *aliquid cibi polluti* (= βρώμα τι); *ξτερα* (c. xvi) is omitted in *in qua quinquennio durantes* dion; while there is no trace in any translation of c. vii ἡ [ἐν τόπῳ], xii δέιν, xix οὔτοι, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφή. Thus weighing both sides together the Latin is against δ.

Later MSS. After the preliminary remarks on the influence of editors etc. (pp. 156-159), not much need be said about the later MSS; their evidence for or against a reading will not in itself be of much weight; to their new readings is due the mass of variations in the *apparatus criticus*, and it will be sufficient in a few words to characterize the MSS.

V<sub>4</sub> is really an α MS, but it is marked by many interpolations (cf. p. 156) and some readings of other families, e.g. c. ii ἄρον, xv τῷ κυριακῷ, πεπραγμένων, xxi συντίθεται, xxv ἐὰν προσεφθάρη.

Mon. is a more careful and accurate MS; it agrees generally (but not altogether) with β, cf. c. iii προσάγεσθαι, vi om τις, xv εἴπερ, εἴσοδον, xxv ἐπιφορέσαι, also x ἐμαρτυρήσαντο: but it reads βδελύσσουντο in c. xiv.

P<sub>13</sub> is marked mainly by agreement with Zonaras' text; it has incorporated some of his ἐρμηνεῖαι and prefixed his preface, and its text shows the same influence.

R<sub>6</sub>, which ends in the 18th canon, distinctly belongs to α, but has the reading περισχέοντας in c. iii with several late variations.

The MSS of e (L O<sub>8</sub> P<sub>14</sub>) and f (P<sub>15</sub> P<sub>16</sub> P<sub>17</sub>) present respectively distinct types of text, perhaps due to copying. These types are marked by confusion of the old family *differentiae* with the addition of a number of new readings. Thus e reads c. ii ἱερᾶς, iii προσάγεσθαι, vi om τις, xv εἴπερ, xx δοκεῖ with β, but on the other hand c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας, iii om καί, xxiii

Περὶ with δ: while f, the latest MSS in date, present at least a dozen quite new variations, e.g. c. ii *om* ἱερατικῆς, iii ἐμβαλόντας, *om* τοῦ συμβάντος, vi μηδέ, ἔννοιαν, ἀφορισθέντι, etc. Three of such readings, c. xiii διὰ γραμμάτων, xiv εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑπέκκειεν, xviii τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, also occur in Blastar's *Synlogma*, and this with other coincidences (cf. p. 185) seems to show that this text is due to his influence.

On the whole all these MSS can be best derived from the text of α, to which family V<sub>4</sub> P<sub>13</sub> R<sub>6</sub> certainly belong, while Mon. perhaps has closer affinities with β.

Having summarized the characteristics of the various types of text, it remains to settle their claims to represent the original. In the consideration of which we may disregard the later MSS and pass back at once to the earlier families. and returning in the reverse order, we come to δ first.

δ. The MSS of this group are few in number and late in date, none before the xiith century. One MS, P<sub>11</sub>, is so full of errors, mistakes, and peculiar readings, as to be practically worthless—a peculiar version of its scribe, while the remaining MSS so strikingly agree that, if some of them are not copies of one another, yet all can very easily be assigned to one archetype. The text of this archetype is most definitely marked off from all the other groups; it has in the short 25 canons 45 variations from α, of which about 24 are entirely peculiar to itself, and are not met with elsewhere (i. e. in MSS of the councils: for 19 of these readings are to be found in MSS of John of Antioch). These two considerations at first sight would incline us to put δ at once aside like e, f, or Zonaras' and Balsamon's texts: for, though we attached little weight to the number and date of the MSS, it would seem incredible that so many readings of the original text should not only entirely disappear from the widely varying MSS, but also be unknown to the numerous commentators.

The case, however, is altered by the fact that for many of

these peculiar readings there is independent and early support, viz. that (a) of the Latin versions, and (b) of John of Antioch's *Synagoge*<sup>1</sup>. This at least shows that some of these various readings were already in existence in the sixth century. How far then does this testimony carry us?

(a) The relation of δ and the Latin texts has already been examined, with the result that they by no means agree. We must bear in mind the division between the few variants of δ which have other support, and the characteristic readings peculiar to itself. It is chiefly in the former that it has the support of the Latin, e.g. in c. xiv βδελύσσοιντο, xiii ἐκάστη, and perhaps πρεσβυτέροις. Of the second class of readings only a few have some partial support, e.g. c. xxi πρῶτος in the Prisca, perhaps c. xvi ἕτερα in Isid., c. xix ἐπαγγειλάμενοι (of the former class) in Isid. and the Prisca, and διὰ τινων ἀγνοίαν in c. iii; while the Latin is directly opposed, either one or all of the versions, to e.g. c. i ὁμιτι, c. ii ἱερατικῆς, iii βρώματα, iv μὲν οὖν, vi μόνῃ, vii ἡ ἐν τόπῳ, xii δεῖν, xix οὔτοι, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφῇ ἡ, and xix ἐπαγγειλάμενοι (*promittentes*, Dionysius).

(b) There remains then only John of Antioch; and here we have a general agreement not only in the text, but also in the order of the councils, for the δ group differs from all the other MSS in inserting Sardica after Neocaesarea, and this order was due to John, who was the first to introduce the Sardican canons into the canon law of the East. The words 'general agreement,' however, have been used advisedly. The text of the *Synagoge* itself has not yet been critically examined; not only do there appear to have been two very distinct editions, but our collation of but a few MSS has already shown great differences existing between the various MSS. Where there is agreement between joh 1 2 3 4 6, there we frequently find disagreement with δ, as is shown on p. 172; and, taking the MSS singly, the lists on pp. 162-172 give us about 24 variants from δ in

<sup>1</sup> Συναγωγή κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν εἰς πεντήκοντα τίτλους διηρημένη, printed in Justel. *Bibliotheca Iuris Canonici Veteris*.

joh 1, 25 in joh 2, 29 in joh 3, 20 in joh 4, 29 in joh 6. Hence the texts of  $\delta$  and of the *Synagoge* are by no means identical. On the other hand, it is remarkable that all the readings of  $\delta$  except five are to be found in some MS of the *Synagoge*. What then are we to say of this general agreement? do  $\delta$  and the *Synagoge* agree, because  $\delta$  represents the original text which John found and worked upon, or because John in compiling his *Synagoge* was neither careful to cite the canons with extreme literal accuracy nor scrupulous in the use of an editorial hand, and the result of his work has exercised a reflex influence on a group of MSS of the councils? Our first presumption, on finding some peculiar readings in a few MSS coincide with those of a previous editor, is to assign them to his influence—a *vera causa* has been found: such indeed would be our treatment of variations which appear first in the text of Photius, Zonaras or Balsamon. This presumption is increased on finding so distinctive and numerous a class of variations: this definite class and the want of connecting links seem to point to a definite assumption of the task of editing; especially will this be borne out, if we find that many of the variants do possess the marks of emendation, and that too in the direction of improvement of the Greek. Further, if  $\delta$  was after all the original text, how are we to account for its comparative disappearance and the growth of the other families? There is no gradual line of divergence between  $\delta$  and the other groups, so that if  $\delta$  is not due to the editorial influence of John,  $\alpha$  must have been the handiwork of Photius. But already in the tenth century we find three distinct types of text, each apparently independent but all equally separated from  $\delta$ ; did they all develope from Photius' text, or must we assume some more editors?

(c) These are however only presumptions, and it would be easy to argue and make out a case for whichever alternative we wish to adopt. But there is one court of appeal left, the readings themselves. Among these we, first, find some (a) certainly wrong readings (and here the support of John of

Antioch is generally wanting), e. g. c. iv βίας, ix τῇ [ἄλλη ἐξαετία], x καὶ [μετὰ ταῦτα], xv πεπραγμένων joh 2 3<sup>1</sup>; and (b) some probable mistakes c. i om [λειτουργεῖν] τι joh 4, ii om τῆς [λειτουργίας] joh 2 3 6<sup>2</sup>, iii βρώματα joh 4, iv [μὲν] οὖν joh 1 3 4 6 with v om δέ joh 4, xxi πρῶτος joh 3, probably due to the following δεύτερος, xxiii Περί joh 1 4 for the unusual Ἐπί. Secondly, we have signs of an editorial hand (a) in exegetical additions c. vii ἐστὶ [δοκιμάσαι] joh, xvi [ἔτη] ἔτερα joh 1 2 4, xxi [χρόνον] πληρῶσαι joh 1 2 3 4, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφὴ [ἡ] joh; and (b) in improvement of the Greek, making it more idiomatic, e. g. in the preference for the aorist, c. ii ἀφελεῖν joh 1 2 4 6, iii ἐμβαλόντων joh 4 (but v κοινωνήτωσαν joh 2 3 6, viii κοινωνήτωσαν joh 1 2 3 6), xviii ἀποβαλέσθαι, xix ἐπαγγελλόμενοι joh 1 2 4; in the use of compounds c. ii ἐπιθύσαντας joh, iv ἐπιθυσάντων joh 1 2 3 4, xviii ἐγκαθεστῶτας joh 4 6, xxiii ἐκπληρῶσαι<sup>3</sup>. Cf. also c. iii περιπεσόντες, iv μὲν οὖν, xix οὔτοι. Μόνη (c. vi) is apparently a correction for the less obvious μόνον; c. vii ἡ [ἐν τόπῳ] is an error that may have easily crept in or been adopted.

Thus the examination of the readings peculiarly characteristic of the group<sup>4</sup> would show that they are not original. For with regard to the style of the Greek, if the question arises between the ecclesiastical fathers at the Galatian Ancyra and John who was educated for, and for a long time pleaded at, the bar in Antioch (whence his name *Scholasticus*), we must give the preference to the style of John. Thus we are driven to accept the alternative that where they agree the peculiar characteristics of δ must be due to his influence, that therefore the value of δ is not high, and that in fact it has no claim to represent the original text; a conclusion which was our primary presumption afforded by the lateness of the MSS.

<sup>1</sup> σπουδασῶν in c. xxi is, of course, an error, but it only points to the close connection of M<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> P<sub>12</sub> V<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> v. *infra* p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> On the other hand c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας.

<sup>4</sup> The readings, not peculiar to the group, c. iii περισχέθοντας, xiii πρεσβυτέρους . . . ἐκάστη, xiv βδελύσσονται will be examined later.

Against this conclusion we must not be prejudiced by the idea that we are defending a 'textus receptus' against superior critical claims, for α can hardly be called a 'textus receptus,' nor has δ any 'codex vaticanus' older than all existing MSS: on the other hand the archetype of R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> (p. 163) can carry back the text of α to the sixth century, or the age of John. To conclude the argument, can we account for the genesis of δ? The fact that two of the MSS (M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub>, p. 193) came from Magna Graecia conveys a valuable hint. The δ MSS, as we have seen, come from a single archetype: this may have been the work of a scribe writing in Italy, who, as in Italy Greek MSS would not abound nor could the Greek canon law be in constant reference, may have had but one copy and that possibly inferior or corrupt. Writing in Italy, his greater familiarity with the Latin versions would have suggested emendations where the Greek was difficult, as in cc. xiii and xiv; and again writing in Italy, the popular authority on the councils would be John of Antioch rather than the schismatic Photius, and very probably from a MS of the *Synagoge* our scribe may have introduced still further emendations of his possibly corrupted text.

γ. The claims of γ are not strong. For, first, the MSS have nearly all undergone a great deal of correction, especially in the significant places: e.g. R<sub>5</sub> in c. ii, xiii (χωρεπισκόπους), xiv (-λυσσο- in βδελύσσονται), and there are marks of erasure in c. vii εἰ... χρή, x... σιωπήσαντες, xvi ἐξεταζέσθω... δέ, xx προ. άγοντας; O<sub>7</sub> in cc. vii, xiii, xvi, xxv; and O<sub>1</sub>, cf. espec. xxv εἰαν... σπρσεφθαρη, vi μετοικισίας, xxi προσάγοντας. The MSS are further characterized by many special readings of their own which are obviously wrong, espec. O<sub>7</sub>, cf. e.g. c. v om μεταξύ, δεχθήσονται, φιλανθρωπεύσασθαι, χρόνος τοῦ βίου, vii add ἐστίν, transpositions in cc. vii and viii, c. xvi κοινωνήτωσαν τῶν προσευχῶν; and O<sub>1</sub> which is most carelessly written, cf. e.g. c. ii φεύοντας, iv δοοίμενοι, xiii χωρεπίσκοπος, xv ἐπάλεισαν, xiv κανώνι and tit. κανώναι. Thus the MSS show signs of having been written by careless and inaccurate scribes.

Secondly, γ can hardly be original for there is a difficulty in finding a definite text. There is indeed a definite class of passages in which we may expect to find variations, but the degree of variation is very gradual: in fact the group seems to be composed of a number of MSS in a transitional stage of variation towards a type of which R<sub>5</sub> perhaps represents the extreme limit. In accordance with this we find that often where they vary from α, the MSS do not agree among themselves, cf. e. g. the different readings for c. ii ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον, c. xiii πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, and the variations of orthography in c. xiv βδελύσσονται, βδελύσονται, βδελύσονται; so in c. xxi P<sub>9</sub> also varies from α, but gives συντίθεσθαι. Again, the readings themselves are often transitional: thus ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον P<sub>9</sub> is half way between ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον and ἄρτου ἢ ποτηρίου O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>7</sub>, R<sub>6</sub><sup>a</sup> giving a further advance τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν; πεπραμμένων O<sub>1</sub> lies between πεπραμένων and πεπραγμένων; O<sub>1</sub> also shows how another reading arose ἐὰν προσεφθάρη (v. *infra*) and in c. x gives a decided mark of transition in διάκονοι ὅσοι καθίστανται . . . διεμαρτύραντο, which makes no sense.

But in the readings in which there is more or less agreement does γ show signs of retaining the original text? In c. xiii ἐκάστη and xiv βδελύσονται and the rejection of πρεσβυτέρους in c. xiii γ agrees with δ and other authorities; and these readings will be examined later on their own merits. But among γ's special readings are

(a) Certain mistakes, as c. iii προσδεχθήτωσαν, unless the fathers committed an anacoluthon, iv κοινωνεῖτωσαν, xx προσάγοντας (in R<sub>5</sub><sup>\*</sup> R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> O<sub>7</sub>) and vi χωρὶς ἢ μετοικησίας (cf. *infra*).

(b) Obvious emendations are to be found in c. vii ἐκάστων . . . ἕστω, xiii ἐπισκόποις (probably due to Photius), xxi ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι (with δ, but in a different place), xxv ἐμφορῆσαι, where in F<sub>3</sub> ἐφορῆσαι the μ has dropped out, and xxv ἐὰν προσεφθάρη. Here some scribe did not see that the canon was a decision on a particular case, and so he generalized it

by inserting an *ἐάν*. The scribe of *O*<sub>1</sub> inserted the full phrase *ἐάν τις*, and it was only afterwards seen that *τις* occurred twice. Some of the Latin translators were guilty of the same liberty: cf. Isid. *si quis sponsam habens*, Prisca *si desponsatus aliquis*, but Dionysius renders *quidam sponsam habens*, which is the reading too of the oldest form of the Isidorian version.

(c) Other readings appear not to be original as their genesis can be explained. c. vi *χωρὶς ἡ μετοικησίας* indeed is hard to account for. Is it a reminiscence of Can. Nicaen. xi *ἡ χωρὶς ἀφαιρέσεως ὑπαρχόντων ἡ χωρὶς κινδύνου*? Or does the Latin also point to some word having dropped out in the ordinary text: cf. Isid. *aut bonorum ablatione aut transportationis poena deterriti*, Dionys. *aut privatione facultatum territi aut demigratione*? We can however see the origin of γ's reading in c. x—*εἰ ἐμαρτύραντο* might very easily become *διεμαρτύραντο*, giving us the text of *O*<sub>1</sub> *ὅσοι καθίστανται . . . διεμαρτύραντο*. But this would necessitate further changes: it might be emended by the insertion of a second *ὅσοι* after *καθίστανται*, or by the change of *καθίστανται* into *καθιστάμενοι*. A confusion between these emendations would give us both the reading of Balsamon *ὅσοι καθιστάμενοι ὅσοι* (in bals 1 the second *ὅσοι* has been erased) and that of γ *καθιστάμενοι ὅσοι*.

c. xxi *συντίθεται* can be explained, the change of *τούτω* into *τοῦτο* in a difficult phrase (omitted by the Latin translators altogether) caused the change of *συντίθενται* into *συντίθεται*. On the other hand the change of *το* into *τω* will explain the change of *τῷ κυριακῷ* for *τὸ κυριακόν* in c. xv, though the Latin Isid. Dionys. *ad iura ecclesiastica (ius ecclesiasticum) revocari* seems to point to *τῷ κυριακῷ*: but the early Isid. cod. monac. 6243 has *ut ius ecclesiasticum revocarent* and the Prisca *revocare atque repetere dominicam*.

Thus as in the case of δ internal evidence has again verified primary presumptions, based in this case on the character of the scribes and their work, and we accordingly set aside the claims of γ.

β. Before examining the value of this group we must

notice, and work upon, the division of this family into two classes according to the extent of their variation from  $\alpha$ .  $P_5$  and  $P_8$  are fragmentary, and the character of  $P_6$  is peculiar. otherwise we have two distinct groups  $\beta_1$   $R_3$   $R_4$   $O_4$   $P_7$  and  $\beta_2$   $P_3$   $F_1$   $O_5$   $P_{10}$   $V_2$ , of which the latter possesses all the variations from  $\alpha$  in the former with additional variations of its own.

$\beta_2$  is marked off from  $\beta_1$  by six readings: c. ii  $\text{ιερ\acute{\alpha}\varsigma}$ , vi  $\text{ομτις}$ , xiv  $[\text{καί}]$   $\epsilon\lambda$   $[\text{μ\acute{\eta}}]$ , xv  $\text{εἴσοδον}$  and we may add iv  $\text{σφοδροτέρω}$ , xxiv  $\text{χρόνων}$ . The last four are entirely without other support (except  $\text{εἴσοδον}$  in Mon.,  $\text{καί } \epsilon\lambda \text{ μ\acute{\eta}}$  in  $P_9^a$ , and  $\text{σφοδροτέρω}$  in  $O_6^*$ ) and mark  $\beta_2$  out as the extreme of  $\beta$ ; so that if we do decide in favour of  $\beta$ , the extreme isolation of  $\beta_2$  is against its being the original form. Further, of the readings themselves— $\text{ιερ\acute{\alpha}\varsigma}$ , which will be examined later, is probably a correction,  $\text{σφοδροτέρω}$  (? through  $\text{σχ\acute{\eta}\muατι σφαιδροτέρω}$ ) a mistake, while  $\text{χρόνων}$  (of which there is no trace elsewhere) is probably a substitution of a reference to astrology for a reference to paganism, when obsolete; against the omission of  $\text{τις}$  in c. vii we have the Latin *quodsi quodlibet mortis periculum* (isid.) *si autem aliqui periculum* (prisca), *si quod autem periculum* (dion.).

$\beta_1$  which remains is very close to  $\alpha$ , in fact it has only seven variations from it: c. ii  $\text{τούτους συνίδοιεν}$ , iii  $\text{προσάγεσθαι}$ , vii  $\text{ἀξιῶσαι}$ , xiv  $\epsilon\lambda \text{ δ\acute{\epsilon} βούλουντο}$ , xv  $\text{εἶπερ}$ , xx  $\text{δοκεῖ}$ , xxv  $\text{ἐπιφορέσαι}$ . And some of these readings receive much support among later MSS and editors, and that the stronger because the more varied. The readings have good internal probability,  $\text{εἶπερ}$  and  $\text{προσάγεσθαι}$ <sup>1</sup> are indecisive, and with two of them ( $\epsilon\lambda \text{ δ\acute{\epsilon} βούλουντο}$  and  $\text{ἐπιφορέσαι}$ ) agree the best MSS of  $\alpha$ , viz.  $R_1$   $P_1$ . Indeed the difference between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta_1$  is so slight that we should not divide them into two families but

<sup>1</sup>  $\text{προσάγεσθαι}$  would seem to be the more natural term for the first enrolment of a laic in the  $\text{κλήρος}$ ,  $\text{προάγεσθαι}$  for his further advancement. But it is difficult to tell the usage of the canons, as in each case we are likely to have the same variation, and at present we are without critical editions. However in c. xii all the MSS agree in  $\text{προάγεσθαι}$  except  $M_3$ . In c. iii  $R_5$   $O$ , read  $\text{προσάγεσθαι}$ , but this is discounted by their  $\text{προσάγοντας}$  in c. xxi.

for the fact that  $\beta_2$  agrees with  $\beta_1$  in its variations: this shows that  $\beta_1$  is already on the path of divergence and for that reason is not original—either  $\alpha$  or  $\beta_2$  must be the original starting point. Again the character of  $P_6$  agrees with this conclusion, for discarding  $\beta_1$ 's variations from  $\alpha$  it has those of  $\beta_2$ ; it is much more likely that it was a short cut from  $\alpha$  rather than a double corruption of  $\beta_1$  in the way of loss and addition. Once more one of the readings of  $\beta_1$  is against it, viz. ἀξιῶσαι; it may be original, but it has entirely dropped out, being without any support elsewhere, unless indeed the *Prisca cognoscere* (cod. vat. reg. 1997) *agnoscere* (bod. mus. 103) points to it. The Latin also seems to be against δοκεῖ in c. xxi *reddatur, oportet*. However in any case  $\alpha$  and  $\beta_1$  are so close that each variation must be examined on its own merits; the fact however of  $\alpha$ 's being on the whole nearest to the original giving a slight presumption against the evidence of  $\beta$ .

$\alpha$  only now remains. But before deciding on its authority, there is an objection to be considered. If we were inclined to think the text of  $\delta$  influenced by John of Antioch, why should we not ascribe the text of  $\alpha$  to the influence of Photius, who according to Card. Mai made not only a σύνταγμα of the canons according to their subject matter, but also a συναγωγή of the councils arranged chronologically, especially as the normal order agrees with his list as against that of John of Antioch? The full text of Photius exists apparently in only one MS, printed by Mai, so that we cannot argue from it with any certainty. However in that text we have several variations from  $\alpha$ , just of the number and character we should expect from an editor reissuing an existing text. The full list is as follows: c. ii *om τῆς τε*, iii *ἀνάγκης, προεξητάσθη*, iv *προέχων*, vi *om ἡμέραν, πληρῶσιν*, x *αὐτοῖς*, xiv *μετὰ τῶν κρεῶν*, xxi *ἐκώλυε*—which we may consider errors; and, what is more important, c. vii *ἐκάστω . . . ἐξέστω*, xiii *ἐπισκόποις*, xv *add τοὺς κάκως ὠνησαμένους certain*, and c. ii *τούτους συνίδοιεν*, xiv *βδελύσσουιντο*, xxi [*ὠρισμένους*]

πληρῶσαι possible emendations; c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας and vi om τις are indecisive. These variations seem to be enough to mark the practical independence of α.

Thus the result of a long and tedious investigation seems to justify our assumption at starting, viz. that α is the closest representative of the original text. For

(1) The MS authority for α is as good and as early as that for the other groups.

(2) We have found no imperative claim on the part of any other group to represent the original.

(3) The text of α serves best for the groundwork of the other groups and MSS: and indeed this is the strongest argument on behalf of α. It seems to hold a central position between the other texts. From α we can trace a gradual divergence to the extreme types of β and γ, whereas β, γ and δ are each marked by a number of peculiar readings which have to be discarded before we reach another family, i. e. the text would so to speak have to first reach a common groundwork, resembling α, before the other families could be developed. If among the later MSS, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even in one or two of the twelfth century, we find the connecting links between β, γ and δ increase, yet they do not become so numerous as to outweigh their connection with α. So too, widely as the later MSS vary from α, it is easier to assume α as the basis than β, γ or δ. Take, for instance, P<sub>11</sub> through its numerous individual readings occupying a unique position, and widely differing from δ to which it is assigned: it is easier then to assume α as the groundwork of P<sub>11</sub> rather than β or γ, as it has none of their peculiar readings. So with P<sub>6</sub> which occupies a peculiar position in β, its origin is easiest to be found in α. This argument is borne out by examination of the individual readings, in all of which it is, if not necessary, at least as easy to derive the various readings from α than *vice versa*.

(4) Lastly, whereas, as it has just been remarked, β, γ, δ are each marked out by a class of peculiar readings, there are none

such to be found in  $\alpha$ , i.e. there is no reading of  $\alpha$  which is not supported by at least one other group. On the other hand again, there are very few readings which have the support of two groups against  $\alpha$ . They are cc. viii *κοινωνήτωσαν*, xiii *ἐκάστη*, xiv *βδελύσσονται* occurring in  $\gamma \delta$ , with perhaps two imperfect agreements c. xiii the rejection of *πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως*, xxi the addition of *πληρῶσαι*.

Thus our conclusion seems justified. But considering the lateness of our MSS, it would be irrational to suppose that  $\alpha$  has preserved the original text absolutely unimpaired. Hence there are many passages where the readings must be examined on their own merits. Such would be (1) those where there is a consensus of authorities against  $\alpha$ , and (2) readings where the inner nucleus of  $\beta$  ( $\beta_1$ ) varies from  $\alpha$ . Thus it will not be out of place to examine some readings individually.

c. i *ἀναπαλαίσαντας* is found in  $P_2^* O_2 O_6 P_6^a \delta e$  Joh. Ant. Photius, Aristenus, and in Zonaras and Balsamon in their commentaries, but not in their text. *ἐπαναπαλαίω* is such an unusual compound (it is not given in Liddell & Scott) that it is likely to be original: the great support it has prevents its being a mistake, while the commentators support *ἀναπαλ.* because that is the usual phrase. On the other hand, the partiality of  $\delta$  for compounds (p. 177) gives weight to its omission of *ἐπὶ* here. Notice also c. i *ἐπιθύσαντες, ἐπαναπαλαίσαντες*, c. ii *θύσαντες, ἀναπαλαίσαντες*.

c. ii *ιερατικῆς*  $\alpha R_3 R_4 O_4 P_7 \gamma \delta V_4$  Mon  $R_6$  Joh phot bals

*ιερᾶς*  $O_6 P_3 P_6 F_1 O_5 P_8 P_{10} C V_2 P_{13} e$  zon.

Here *ιερατικῆς* is undoubtedly right, especially as  $\beta_1$  here agrees with  $\alpha$ . The reading of  $\beta_2$  *ιερᾶς* is however supported by all the Latin versions *sacro*, with one important exception, cod. monac. 6243 (the older Isidorian) *ab omni altaris ministerio*. There is an obvious pragmatic reason for the correction into *ιερᾶς* which will account also for its appearance in the later MSS,  $O_6 P_{13} e$ , and avowedly indeed in Pitra's

text; that is, the apparent assigning of a priestly function to deacons.

But the words mean no more than that these deacons are to take no part in *the* ἱερατικὴ λειτουργία of the Holy Eucharist, cf. the Freising MS *altaris ministerio*. Hence also the omission of τῆς (in δ etc.) is clearly wrong, it is not that the deacons are not to perform any priestly services, but not to take part in *the* priestly service. At the same time in the Canons ἱερατικός seems to have had a wide extension of meaning: in the Apost. Canons it is apparently coextensive with the whole κλήρος, including the minor orders; cf. c. lxii (and l) εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ . . . εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς εἴη with c. lxix εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν . . . εἰ δὲ λαϊκός: but in the Canons of Laodicea ἱερατικός is confined to the higher orders (still, we notice, applied to deacons) and distinct from κληρικός; cf. c. xxiv οὐ δέι ἱερατικοὺς ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων ἕως διακόνων καὶ ἐξῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως ἕως ὑπηρετῶν κ. τ. λ. and c. xxvii ἱερατικοὺς ἢ κληρικοὺς ἢ λαικοὺς καλουμένους. Cf. also Can. Apost. viii, xiv, xvi, xvii, Laod. iii, iv, xix, xxx etc., Ant. iii.

c. ii *τούτοις* συνείδοιεν. Here we have obviously not the right reading: *τούτοις* would seem to be right as with most MSS of α we have γ δ and most of the later authorities, but some MSS of α agree with β in *τούτους*: *συνείδοιεν* which is very strongly supported may be for either *συνίδοιεν* the reading of β, which agrees with *τούτους*, or for *συνειδεῖεν* for which we have Zonaras, and the Latin *conscii sint* (isid. dion.).

c. iii *περισχισθέντας*. The difficulty of this reading is probably sufficient to account for its emendation into *περισχεθέντας* the reading of δ and John of Antioch, and which as a likely correction occurs in O<sub>1</sub>, and also later MSS P<sub>8</sub> of β, O<sub>7</sub> of γ and L O<sub>8</sub> R<sub>6</sub> f. Further *περισχισθέντας* is not so entirely without parallels as to force us to conclude it to be an error. Zonaras understands *τοὺς χιτῶνας*, and so it is not uncommon;

Stephanus gives e. g. ἐσθῆτα περισχίσαι out of Plutarch, εἴ τις τὰ ἱμάτια περιέσχισεν out of Lucian. But we have as well a striking instance of its use absolutely, in Epictetus *Dissert.* i. 25: περισχισον αὐτόν. τί λέγεις αὐτόν; τὸ ἱμάτιον λάβε, περισχισον. Cf. Schweighäuser's note. The Latin translators give no help, they were apparently quite unable to understand the Greek: cf. their renderings: *perseverante violentia ad id usque perducti sunt ut manus eorum adprehensas et violenter attractas super sacrificia imposerent* isid., *tentos adque in manibus ferro violenter mittentes prisca, eo usque adstricti sunt ut manus eorum comprehendentes violenter adtraherent et funestis sacrificiis admovent dionys.*

c. iii ἐμβαλλόντων, ἐμβαλόντων. Here as elsewhere the very common variation between the present and aorist causes confusion among the groups. Cf. the variants *κοινωνεῖτωσαν* in cc. v, viii, ix, ἐπαγγελάμενοι in c. xix, and ἀποβαλέσθαι in c. xviii. We notice however that α is uniformly on the side of the present δ of the aorist (except *κοινωνήτωσαν* in cc. v, viii). ἀποβαλέσθαι has very little support; and the frequent reading ἐπαγγελλόμενοι points to the present being original. Again, if *κοινωνεῖτωσαν* best represents the continued state of *κοινωνία*, the aorist may equally well denote the entry upon that state of *κοινωνία*. The dropping out of σα may also explain the very frequent reading *κοινωνήτωσαν*. On *προσάγεσθαι*, *προάγεσθαι*, lower down, cf. p. 181, n.<sup>1</sup>

c. vii. The variety of readings here serves to show the superiority of α's text, and it is a good canon for testing the character of the Latin versions. The readings are:—

μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπισκόπων δοκιμάσαι α

”	”	ἐκάστου	”	”	F <sub>2</sub> P <sub>11</sub>
”	”	ἐκάστῳ	”	ἐξέστω	δοκ. O <sub>6</sub> phot
”	”	ἐκάστου	”	ἔστω	” R <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>9</sub>
”	”	ἕκαστον	”	ἐστὶ	” O <sub>7</sub> δ joh 1
”	”	ἐκάστου	”	”	” P <sub>6</sub> <sup>a</sup> joh 2 4 6
”	”	ἕκαστον	”	δοκιμ. ἐστι	R <sub>6</sub> zon 2

ἕκαστον μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τῶν ἐπισκόπων δοκιμάσαι P<sub>13</sub> zon 1 3  
 „ „ „ „ ἔστι δοκιμ. e  
 „ „ „ „ ἔστι τὸ δοκιμ. f bals  
 μετασχεῖν τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον δοκιμάσαι F<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>  
*Tr* δοκιμάσαι et ἐξετάσαι O<sub>7</sub>

Latin: *Placuit eos biennio subiaccere et sic suscipi quia oportet post oblationem unumquemque episcopum eos probare et uitam singulorum agnoscere* [cognoscere vat. reg. 1997] (prisca). *ita tamen utrum (ut utrum) cum oblatione recipiendi sint an ad solam communionem admitti debeant unusquisque episcoporum examinent uitae eorum praeteritae et praesentis habita consideratione* (isid). *unusquisque episcoporum probet uita unuscuiusque habita consideratione* (old form of isid). *utrum uero cum oblatione singuli episcoporum probantes uitam eorum et singulos actus examinent* (dionys).

On c. x διάκονοι κ.τ.λ. cf. p. 180.

Questions of interpretation have drawn attention to the various readings in c. xiii, which will merit a closer examination. In the Greek we have—

{ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως α β V<sub>4</sub> Mon R<sub>6</sub> e f joh 1 zon 1 bals 1 3 4  
 πρεσβυτέροις „ R<sub>5</sub> F<sub>3</sub> δ (exc P<sub>11</sub>) joh (exc 1) cum joh 8  
 πρεσβύτερον „ C P<sub>13</sub> zon 2 3 bals-com matt  
 διὰ πρεσβυτέρων „ P<sub>11</sub>  
 ἐπισκόποις „ R<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>9</sub> O<sub>7</sub> phot (cf. note <sup>2</sup>, p. 150)  
 { ἑτέρα α β V<sub>4</sub> Mon P<sub>13</sub> R<sub>6</sub> e f phot zon bals  
 ἑκάστη γ δ joh latt

Cf. also χωρεπισκόπους R\*<sub>5</sub> P<sub>11</sub> L f joh 2 3 8 bals 2 -πος O<sub>5</sub> O<sub>1</sub>\*  
 -πον P<sub>13</sub> bals-com matt

Latin Versions—

Early Isidorian: cod. monac. 6243, s. viii (Freising MS)

*Vicariis episcoporum quod greci <sup>1</sup>corepiscopos dicunt non licere presbyteros uel diaconos ordenare: sed nec <sup>2</sup>presbyterum ciuitatis sine episcopi praeceptum amplius aliquid iuberet uel sine auctoritatem litterarum eius in unaquaque parrochia aliquid agere.*

cod. virceb. mp. th. f 146

<sup>1</sup> corepiscopum

<sup>2</sup> presbyteris

Isidorian: cod. paris. 3848 A, s. viii, ix (Quesnel's MS)

<sup>1 2</sup> *Ficarios episcoporum quos greci corepiscopos* <sup>3</sup> *dicunt non*  
<sup>4</sup> *licere presbyteros vel diacones ordinare: sed nec* <sup>5</sup> *presbyteris*  
*civitatis sine episcopi praecepto* <sup>6</sup> *amplius aliquid imperare vel*  
*sine* <sup>7</sup> *auctoritate litterarum eius in unaquaque parrocia* <sup>8</sup> *aliquid*  
*agere.*

<sup>1</sup> Tit. in codd. paris. 3848 A, 3842 A *Vicaritis* [os 3842 A] *episcoporum non*  
*licet ordinationes facere* <sup>2</sup> *Vicariis* oriel. 42<sup>a</sup> aed. flor. 82<sup>a</sup> paris. 3858 c  
<sup>3</sup> *uocunt* veron. 60 <sup>4</sup> *licet* oriel. 42 *licent eis vel* veron. 60 <sup>5</sup> *presby-*  
*teris* paris. 3848 A cum oriel. 42 (s. xii) paris. 3836 (s. viii) 4279 (s. ix) barber.  
xiv. 52 (s. ix, x) aed. flor. 82 (s. x) paris. 1455 (s. x) 3858 c (s. xiii) veron. 60  
(s. vii) sangerm. 936 (s. vi, vii) paris. 1451 (s. ix) veron. 59 (s. vii) flor. laur.  
1554 (s. x-xii) *pre-byteros* paris. 1454 (s. ix, x) 3842 A (s. ix, x) <sup>6</sup> *ali-*  
*quid amplius* veron. 60 oriel. 42 <sup>7</sup> *litteris eius* laur. 1554 <sup>8</sup> *agere*  
*aliquid* veron. 59 *agere quicquam* paris. 1451 *alq. agere in un. par.* laur.  
1554.

The Prisca: cod. bod. mus. 103, s. v, vi (Justel's MS)

*Vt non sine episc. liceat quemquam ordinare ab his qui*  
*dicuntur corepiscopi.*

<sup>1</sup> *Corepiscop. non licere* <sup>2</sup> *praesb. aut diac. ordinare, sed neque*  
<sup>3</sup> *praesb. civitatis sine iussione episcopis sed cum* <sup>4</sup> *eisdem litteris*  
*eundi ad singulas parrocias.*

cod. vat. reg. 1997 (Chieti MS) s. viii <sup>1</sup> *corepiscoporum* <sup>2</sup> *pres-*  
*biterum aut diaconem* <sup>3</sup> *presbiterorum* <sup>4</sup> *om. eisdem.*

Dionysius Exiguus: first edit., cod. vat. pal. 577, s. viii, ix.

*Corepiscopo non licere presb. aut diaconos ordinare: sed nec*  
*praesbiteros civitatis sine episcopi praecepto vel litteris aliquid*  
*agere in unaquaque paraecia.*

second and Dionysio-Hadrian edition.

*Chorepiscopis non licere presbyteros aut diaconos ordinare:*  
*sed nec presbyteris civitatis sine praecepto episcopi vel litteris in*  
*unaquaque parrochia (paroecia).*

So, of the MSS of the 2nd edition, codd. bod. mus. 103 (s. x,  
with a chorep.), paris. 3837 (s. ix); paris. 1536 (s. x) reads *pres-*  
*biteri*; 3845 (s. ix) *prbt*; 3848 (s. xiii) *prbr*. In the Dionys-  
IIadr. MSS, with the text are codd. paris. 8921\*, 11710 (s. viii),  
monac. 6244\*, 14422, 14517, 6242\*, paris. 3840, 3843, vallis.

A. 5 (of s. ix), vat. reg. 1043, monac. 14008, and bod. misc. 421<sup>a</sup> (of s. x); monac. 5258 (s. x) reads *presbyteris* . . . *aliquid agere*; paris. 8921 (s. viii), 11711 (s. ix), both second hand, *presbyteris* (os 8921<sup>a</sup>) . . . *aliquid imperare etc.*; monac. 14517, 6242, vat. reg. 1043 add second hand *aliquid agere*, or (monac. 6242) *imperare etc.* Codd. paris. 8921<sup>a</sup> (s. viii), brit. mus. arund. 393 monac. 6355 (s. ix), 3860, bod. misc. 421\* (of s. x), monac. 18217, 6241, 3852 (of s. xi) read *presbyteros ciuitatis*: monac. 6244, second hand, and 14407 (s. x), first hand, read *presbyteros* . . . *aliquid agere*; monac. 3860 A (s. x) and 5525 (s. xii) *presbyteros* . . . *amplius aliquid imperare etc.*

The Bobbian Dionysius, cod. ambros. s. 33 (s. ix) reads *presbytero* . . . *aliquid agere* with *aut amplius imperare licebit* in the margin.

The *Concordia* of Cresconius agrees with the Dionysio-Hadrian version in 3 MSS examined, with these variations: cod. vat. pal. 579 *presbyteros*, monac. 6288 *presbytero*, bod. misc. 436 *presbyteris*.

Now if we argued from the Greek MSS alone, from their numbers and authority, we should without hesitation accept the text of α: χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ. But it has been of late assumed (e.g. by Lightfoot<sup>1</sup> and others) as beyond question that the true reading is . . . πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως . . . ἐν ἐκάστη παροικίᾳ (the text of δ); apparently on the ground of (1) the support of the Latin, and of (2) the presumption that the countenance thus given to presbyterian ordination caused the corruption of the text, and perhaps, we may venture to add, through ignorance of the actual state of MS authority.

Against this assumption we may argue that (1) the evidence of the Latin versions is over-estimated. For (a) from the remarks made above the Latin versions are not helpful for

<sup>1</sup> *Dissert. on the Chr. Ministry* in his *Philippians*, p. 232.

our purpose; as translations they are very inferior<sup>1</sup>, and it is but seldom that the Latin clearly shows of which of two variants it is the translation. (b) Such is the case with the present passage: the evidence of the Latin as to the original is altogether indecisive. The *Prisca* is no help; the *Isidorian* translator paraphrases the canon, so whether he renders *presbyteris* or *presbyteros* shows us nothing. When we come to *Dionysius* the MS evidence does seem to point to *presbyteris* being his reading; but there is much confusion, and in face of the many MSS which disagree, it is impossible to speak with certainty. In any case, the great confusion in the Latin versions, which is so very easy to account for without the necessity of a 'tendency,' practically nullifies their evidence on this point. (c) If the Latin did point to *πρεσβυτέροις*, it need not represent more than one or two archetypes. We know that Greek MSS of the Canons were not very common in the West; even a Pope (*Zosimus*) in 418 had not an accurate copy of the Nicene canons; and it is not necessary to suppose that the translators had an infallible copy before them.

(2) The second argument based on the anti-presbyterian tendency of the scribes is not borne out by any reference, allusion, or appeal. The fact of presbyterian ordination itself in early times is hypothetical; the few instances alleged by *Dr. Hatch*<sup>2</sup> have been answered by *Mr. Gore*<sup>3</sup>; while soon after the time of *Ancyra*, as soon as evidence begins to increase, we find episcopal ordination the absolute rule. And yet this presbyterian canon remains in the canon law of the Church, and it is never alluded to or quoted by any opponents of the Church's order, any anti-episcopal reformer, such as *Aerius*, or any supporter of a supposed ancient church order. Further, the 'tendency' has not been universal; the obnoxious

<sup>1</sup> It is quite conceivable that they might have translated *πρεσβυτέροις* *presbyteris*, thinking that it depended on *ἐξείναι*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bampton Lectures*, lect. iv.

<sup>3</sup> *Christian Ministry*, app. note E.

reading has remained in some Greek MSS and in many Latin MSS ; its inconsistency with the unquestioned law and order in the West was neither perceived nor felt.

(3) On the other hand we have the direct authority of the Greek MSS. Here we have an unanimous agreement of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  supported by later authorities. In favour of *πρεσβυτέροις* we have only  $\delta$  and two MSS of  $\gamma$ ,  $R_5 F_3$ ; of these  $F_3$  is probably a copy of  $R_5$ , while the  $\delta$  MSS ( $P_{11}$  here reading *διὰ πρεσβυτέρων*) may easily be reduced to one archetype. The value of  $\delta$ 's evidence has been examined at length, while  $\gamma$ , the family to which  $R_5 F_3$  belong, has absolutely no claim to represent the original. In this canon its tendency to variation comes fully into play, cf. *χωρεπισκόπους* ( $R_5^*$ ) -*ος* ( $O_1$ ) *μήτε* ( $R_2$ ). Further, it is this very group and this group alone which with Photius admits the undoubted emendation *ἐπισκόποις*. If *πρεσβυτέροις* were the original, it is hard to believe that one emendation in particular, *πρεσβυτέρους*, should have prevailed with such unanimity. On the other hand, *πρεσβυτέρους* being original, we have the variations we should expect, *πρεσβυτέροις*, *ἐπισκόποις*, *διὰ πρεσβυτέρων* in  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ , and later *πρεσβύτερον*. However, both  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  agree unanimously with the Latin and other authorities in *ἐκάστη*, which may be the right reading.

(4) The variants can be more easily derived from  $\alpha$  than *vice versa*. E. g. *ἐκάστη* gives as good sense with *πρεσβυτέροις* as *ἐτέρῃ*, hence it is hard to see why a change from an original *πρεσβυτέροις* to *πρεσβυτέρους* should have caused a change from the accompanying *ἐκάστη* to *ἐτέρῃ*. On the other hand, *πρεσβυτέροις* with *ἐκάστη* is better than *ἐτέρῃ*, hence a change from an original *πρεσβυτέρους* into *πρεσβυτέροις* might easily change the original *ἐτέρῃ* into *ἐκάστη*.

Again, we have an easy explanation of the readings of  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ . The scribes of the archetypes of these groups made the very easy mistake of writing *πρεσβυτέροις* for *πρεσβυτέρους*. This made emendation necessary, hence some  $\gamma$  MSS substitute *ἐπισκόποις* ; one  $\delta$  MS gives *διὰ πρεσβυτέρων*. Other late

scribes and Zonaras, who had seen these variations now established, to make it clear write *πρεσβύτερον*.

(5) If *πρεσβυτέροις* be right and *ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ* translated, as is right and as Dr. Lightfoot insists, 'nor even,' then it is implied that city presbyters ranked higher than chorepiscopi, which is most improbable. Chorepiscopi attended councils, had the *χειροθεσίαν ἐπισκόπων* and at least claimed to ordain presbyters (Can. Antioch x); cf. also Can. Nic. viii *τόπον ἢ χωρεπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου*.

(6) The text of α gives a very good sense, both with the correct translation of *ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ*, and without limiting the first *πρεσβυτέροις* to *πρεσβ. χώρας* (as by Routh, against which Lightfoot protests). There are constant conciliar prohibitions of bishops ordaining in other dioceses: how likely it is that country bishops should have been guilty of the same presumption, especially when the boundary line of two *παροικίαι* ran through obscure country districts (*χωραι*) at a distance from the *πόλεις*! The fathers of Ancyra intend to forbid such ordinations by country bishops *ἐν ἐτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ*. This raises another debated question—might country bishops ordain *town* presbyters within the limits of *their own παροικία*, i.e. the *παροικία* of the bishop of the *πόλις* to which their country districts (*χωραι*) were attached? Canon xiii, then, prohibits this also by the way: 'Chorepiscopi may not ordain (any) presbyters or deacons (of town or country)—but not even town presbyters (in their own parish) without the permission of their (town) bishop in writing—in another parish: *ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . γραμμάτων* being an afterthought. Perhaps however *χωρὶς . . . γραμμάτων* applies to both cases, ordination in the *ἐτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ*, and ordination of town presbyters in their own parish: if so then *τοῦ ἐπισκόπου* will include both the bishop of the neighbouring *παροικία* and their own town bishop. *ἐκάστη*, however, has very strong support; γ and δ are unanimous and there is no trace of *ἐτέρᾳ* in any Latin version; it may be right. Then if we adopt our former translation *ἐν ἐκάστῃ παρ.* will belong to the parenthesis, and the fathers

having entered upon a new subject have forgotten to complete their original prohibition with an ἐν ἐτέρῃ παρ.; or if χωρὶς . . . γραμμάτων belongs to both clauses ἐν ἐκάστη παρ. will also do so without any difficulty.

c. xiv εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται α (P<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup> P<sub>2</sub> O<sub>2</sub> O<sub>3</sub> P<sub>4</sub> F<sub>2</sub> V<sub>5</sub>) R<sub>3</sub> P<sub>6</sub> F<sub>1</sub><sup>a</sup>  
V<sub>2</sub><sup>a</sup> V<sub>4</sub> L O<sub>8</sub> R<sub>6</sub> f joh 4 bals matt  
εἰ δὲ βούλονται R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> \* β (P<sub>3</sub> R<sub>4</sub> O<sub>4</sub> F<sub>1</sub>\* O<sub>5</sub> P<sub>7</sub> P<sub>10</sub> V<sub>2</sub>\*)  
P<sub>13</sub> P<sub>14</sub> zon  
εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται V<sub>1</sub> O<sub>6</sub> C γ δ Mon joh 1 2 3 5 6 8 phot

The Latin versions support εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται, viz. Isid. *quod si tantum (in tant.) eas abominabiles iudicauerint (putauerint)*; Dionys. *quod si in tantum eas abominantur*. The Prisca is too abbreviated to give any help, cf. the Chieti MS: *placuit ut tangerent et si sic non obaudient canonem, placuit cessare*. In only one MS (cod. veron. 63 'epitome hadr.') out of over 50 has any trace been found of another reading: *quod si noluerint et in tantum eas abhominabiles iudicauerint*.

Here as in c. xiii, but much more decisively, we have γ and δ against α and β, and at first sight the reading seems the right one and it receives wide support, the Latin, John of Antioch, Photius, and some MSS in α and β.

On the other hand (1) βδελύσσονται is much the easiest reading: it is the word generally used in this connection, cf. Can. Apost. lii, Gang. pref., i, ix, xiv, xx; and familiar to the scribes from its use in the N. T.: cf. Rom. ii. 22, Apoc. xxi. 8, βδέλυγμα in S. Matt. xxiv. 15 (*et parall.*), Apoc. xvii. 4, 5, xxi. 27, βδελυκτός in Tit. i. 16. (2) The orthography varies very much, βδελύσονται, βδελύσσονται, βδελλύσσονται. (3) Against βδελύσσονται we have α and β, while the general decision against γ and δ weakens their authority here. (4) If βούλονται was the original reading we can understand the confusion with εἰ βούλονται, εἰ δὲ [μὴ] βούλονται, [εἰ] μὴ ὑπέκειεν, but with an original βδελύσσονται the ground of confusion is to a great extent removed.

Between εἰ δὲ βούλονται and εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλ. it is hard to

decide. However, (1) as in c. xxv R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> agree with β: (2) β, γ, δ agree in the absence of μῆ: (3) εἰ δὲ βουλ. is much the hardest reading; we must supply οὕτως κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν (or ἀπέχεσθαι with Zonaras), the οὕτως being explained by ὡς μηδὲ κ.τ.λ.: (4) while μῆ is a very obvious correction, and so is inserted in V<sub>2</sub> F<sub>1</sub> by a second hand. Hence the reading of β seems preferable.

The variations in c. xv τῷ κυριακῷ, πεπραγμένων, c. xxi τούτῳ συντίθεται, the addition of πληρῶσαι—have been already alluded to (pp. 179, 180).

As a concluding test of the accuracy of the MSS it would be well to refer to c. xxv. Here α and β agree in ἐπιφορῆσαι or ἐπιφορέσαι, one of which is most probably original, and, as in c. xiv, the two oldest MSS of α R<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> agree with β which is a presumption in favour of β's reading ἐπιφορέσαι. In γ we have ἐμφορῆσαι, an obvious emendation, but with γ's usual correction and inaccuracy—in O<sub>1</sub> εμ and η are corrections, O<sub>7</sub><sup>a</sup> reads ἐπιφορῆσαι, in F<sub>3</sub> the μ has dropped out. The best MSS of δ agree with α, ἐπιφορῆσαι, but M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub> and joh 4 8 have adopted ἐπιφορτίσαι (a scholion in M<sub>1</sub>). Lastly, among the late MSS we have a new variant, ἐπιφωρᾶσαι in f.

## APPENDIX I.

## THE SYRIAC VERSION.

IN the Text and Essay account has been taken of the Latin version alone, but since writing the above I have been enabled to give some contributions from other versions also. We have in Pitra's *Analecta Spicilegio Solesmensi*, vol. iv, a Syriac version from a MS in the Paris Library, cod. 62, saec. viii, and the Latin translation (P) is given below. This we can supplement by a translation (M) of a MS of the same version in the British Museum, cod. add. 14,529, which has been very kindly translated for the essay by Professor Margoliouth: the date of this MS is given as saec. vii or viii, but the version must have been made at a time when the office of chorepiscopus had become unfamiliar; cf. the title of c. xiii. An inspection of almost any canon will show that M follows the Greek more closely and is much more literal than P, a result which cannot be wholly due to the greater literalness of the Latin translation (cf. notes on cc. ii, iii, xiii, xiv, xv). Both versions are liable to errors of translation; besides a few enumerated below we find, in P—c. iii *βοῶντάς τε κ.τ.λ.* translated *eo quod . . . clamitarent*, xv *ἀπολαβεῖν emptoribus restituere*, xxiv *ἐπὶ ἀνευρέσει φαρμακειῶν ut obiecta deperdita reperiant*, in c. xiv the first *εἰ βούλουτο* is omitted, while the translator seems to have misread or corrected the conclusion of c. vii, reading *τότε* for *τὸ δέ*: in M we have—c. iii *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα* and *ἡ προλαβούσα* omitted, v *πρὸ πάντων δέ ὁ βίος* translated *omnium conversatio*. Both versions again show an *exegetical* or explanatory tendency: in P, cf. c. x *οὕτως μένειν, ἐπιτραπῆναι*, xi *αὐτῶν* made to mean *raptores*, in xiii the addition of *licet celebrare*, in xxii of *integram vitam*. But especially is this the case with M, cf. particularly the explanation of *τοῦ ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν* in c. ii, c. iii *βρῶμά τι . . . δεξαμένους* = *aliquid cibi . . . attrulere ori eorum*, c. viii to explain *μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς simulac recipiantur* is added, in c. x *κατάστασις* and *μετὰ ταῦτα* are fully explained, and *καταδεξαμένους*

modified by *eo quod tacuerint*, cf. also *primum . . postea* in c. xiv, *mensuram xx annorum* = ἡλικίαν ταύτην in c. xvi.

With regard to the text they generally follow α, with the important exceptions of c. xiii ἐκάστη, xiv βδελύσσονται, and some agreements with γ. Besides these they read συνίδοιεν in c. ii, and we notice the following renderings or mistakes: in c. xviii καθεστῶτας is made transitive, while in xvii λεπρώσαντας is intransitive; ἐνθα in xviii is also translated wrongly, *ut* or *quales*; c. xxi καὶ τοῦτω συντιθένται = *quibus adhaeret praesens synodus* or *et cum hoc termino consentimus*, in the same canon τοὺς ὀρισμένους is qualified wrongly by *modo*, *scilicet*. We notice also that οἱ χεῖμαζόμενοι (c. xvii) are those *qui probantur, qui tentantur a daemoniis*.

There are no traces of any of β's special readings (p. 164): ἱερᾶς, σφοδρότερῳ, *om* τις (c. vi), ἀξιῶσαι (except perhaps in *faciat hoc*, M), εἰ δὲ βούλονται, *δοκεῖ*, *χρόνων*.

The version has indeed a close connection with γ (cf. p. 167). It definitely agrees in making cc. iv, v into one canon, in c. xiii ἐκάστη, xiv εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται, xv τῷ κυριακῷ, xxi *add* πληρῶσαι, xxv εἰς προσεφθάρη; c. x *qui ordinandi sunt, qui futuri sunt* may point to καθιστάμενοι; P seems to have found χωρίς in c. vi, *absque tormentis*. But these readings are of the nature of corrections and would agree with the expegetical character of the version; and, on the other hand, we have clearly ἀρτὸν ἢ ποτήριον in c. ii, διεμαρτύραντο in x, ἡ is not omitted in iii, and in xiii πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως seems to have been the reading translated (cf. the note on the canon: Mr. Turner of Magdalen College suggests it as possible that the original ran ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πόλεως omitting πρεσβυτέρους altogether, and that this was the reading translated by M).

With δ (cf. p. 169) the Syriac agrees in the variations mentioned above in cc. xiii, xiv, also in xxi *add* πληρῶσαι, and in iv the Syriac represents ὅσοι μὲν οὖν; further M has a few more similarities—c. iii *recta et pulchra* may point to ἡ συμπαράτοι, xix *qui professi sunt* to the aorist, and xii *decere* may be a translation of δέειν. But these are all, and the remaining variations of δ of which we can speak with certainty are clearly rejected, viz. c. i *om* τι, iii περισχεθέντας (at least M gives *et scissa sunt vestimenta*), vi μόνῃ, vii ἡ ἐν τόπῳ, ix τῇ ἄλλῃ, xv πεπραγμένων, xvi ἕτερα, xxi πρῶτος, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφὴ ἡ, while P omits ἡ συμπαράτοι in c. iii, and has ἐπαγγελλόμενοι in xix, and both seem to read πρεσβυτέρους in c. xiii (but see above for M).

To sum up, the Syriac practically is a version of α: its evidence as to the readings in cc. xiii, xiv of course is important, but on the

whole its tendency to agree with  $\gamma$  will only show that if  $\delta$  represents a western recension of the canons,  $\gamma$  represents the emendations current in Antioch and the East.

TEXT.

PARIS. COD. 62 (P).

BRIT. MUS. COD. ADD. 14,529 (M).

*Iterum canones xxiv qui Ancyrae in Galatia conditi fuerunt a synodo ibi adunata. Canones isti Nicaenis canonibus priores sunt tempore. At propter auctoritatem magnae sanctaeque synodi Nicaenae primo loco descripti sunt Nicaeni canones.*

*Synodi Ancyranae canones xxiv. Hi canones priores sunt iis qui positi sunt Nicaeae.*

*En nomina episcoporum qui in Ancyrae synodo adunati sunt: Vitalius Antiochiae, Marcellus Ancyrae, Agricolaus Caesareae, Lupus Tarsi, Basilus Amasiae, Philadelphus <sup>1</sup> Heliopeleos, <sup>2</sup> Eustathius Nicomediae, Heraclius Zoloni, Petrus Iconii, Nunechius Laodiceae, Sergianus Antiochiae in Pisidia, <sup>3</sup> Epirariorius Pergae, Narcissus Neroniadis <sup>4</sup>.*

*Isti porro episcopi, cum congregati fuissent, infra descriptos canones definierunt et sanxerunt.*

I.

*De sacerdotibus qui sacrificarunt.*

*De presbyteris qui sacrificaverunt.*

De sacerdotibus illis qui, postquam sacrificaverunt, conversi denuo agonem non quidem

Sacerdotes ii qui sacrificaverunt, et rursus conversi doluerunt, non ab arte aliqua sed veri-

<sup>1</sup> Lat. Iulio-politanus.

<sup>2</sup> Lat. Eustolus.

<sup>3</sup> Lat. Epidaurus.

<sup>4</sup> Lat. (codd. Paris. 8921, 11710, 11711) add. Leontius Neroniadensis, Longinus Dicationensis, Amphion Alfus, Selaus Germanus.

astutia quadam sed veritate impulsus inierunt, quique id antea non praeordinaverunt, ut cruciati crederentur, licet fecte tantum et apparenter tormentis obicerentur: de his placuit synodo, ut quidem gradus honore dignarentur, non autem ut offerrent, homilias haberent, aut sacerdotis quovis munere unquam fungerentur.

tate, neque cum prius composuerint dolum et finxerint et persuaserint, ut putarentur accipere tormenta, cum haec tormenta opinione tantum et figura afferrentur neque veritate: his visum est honor sedis suae ut esset iis; ut offerrent vero oblationem aut interpretarentur aut ullo modo implerent ministerium sacerdotii . . . .

## II

*De diaconis qui sacrificarunt.*

Diaconis qui, cum simili modo sacrificaverint, postea conversi agonem subierunt, alius honor concedatur; verum ab omni sacerdotali ministerio abstineant necesse est; nec deferre panem aut calicem ad altare nec praedicare valent. <sup>1</sup>Quod si quibusdam episcopis propter illorum laborem humilitatem et mansuetudinem aliquid amplius illis dare aut aliquid demere utile visum fuerit, plena illis potestas conceditur.

*De diaconis qui sacrificaverunt.*

Diaconi rursus qui sacrificaverunt et postea conversi doluerunt, honor quidem alius est iis; sunt vero soluti ab omni ministerio sacerdotii, ab inferendo altari pane vel poculo et a dando corpore et sanguine et praedicanda oratione. Quod si homines de episcopis <sup>2</sup>viderint in iis opera conversationum vel mansuetudinis vel suavitatis, et volent aliquid maius dare vel adimere, sit licitum iis.

## III.

*De illis qui dum aufugerent capti, ob violentiam quam passi sunt facti sunt ethnici.*

Illos qui dum aufugerent capti aut a familiaribus traditi

*De iis qui fugientes capti sunt et per vim accidit iis aliquid paganismi.*

Ii qui fugientes capti sunt aut a familiaribus suis traditi

<sup>1</sup> Haec verba accuratius reddit D.S.M. *Quod si homines de episcopis videbunt (συνοειν) iis (i. e. apud eos) laborem aliquem vel humilitatem mansuetudinis et volent etc.*

<sup>2</sup> συνοειν.

sunt, aut alio quovis modo bonis possessionibusque privati, tormentis tentati, aut in carcerem coniecti sunt, eo quod se christianos esse clamitarent; quique violenter tractati ab illis qui eos deducebant, aliquid ethnicam religionem redolens in propriis manibus deferre aut escam recipere violentia coacti sunt, licet se christianos esse confiterentur, tristitiamque ex iis quae acciderunt conceptam perpetuo ostenderunt tum demisso aspectu suo, tum humili veste atque ratione agendi: tales immunes a peccato existere certum est; unde a communione arcendi non sunt. <sup>1</sup> Quod si <sup>2</sup> a quibusdam repulsi sunt, sive ob nimiam cautelam, <sup>3</sup> sive ob ignorantiam, extemplo recipiantur oportet. Ita etiam decretum est de iis qui ad clerum et de iis qui ad statum laicalem pertinent. At ampliori disquisitione facta de laicis qui talibus in angustiis versati sunt, an ad ordines promoveri possint, placuit hos, utpote qui nihil peccaverint, ordinari posse, dummodo anteactae vitae mores reperti fuerint honesti.

sunt aut alias sublata sunt ab iis, toleraverunt autem tormenta et ceciderunt in carcerem, clamantes se esse christianos, et <sup>4</sup> scissa sunt vestimenta eorum et violenter res paganismi in manus eorum hi qui cogebant eos iniecerunt, et aliquid cibi per vim attulere ori eorum, confitentibus per omnia se esse christianos, et dolorem super his quae acciderunt sibi omni tempore ostendentibus omni praeparatione et humilitate et vita demissa: hi, tamquam homines qui non peccaverunt, ne prohibeantur omnino a communione. Quod si prohibiti sunt ab hominibus propter accurationem maiorem aut propter ignorantiam, continuo recipiantur, sive de clero sunt, sive de ordine laicorum. Quarebatur vero et tentabatur etiam hoc, utrum possint laici illi qui in hanc necessitatem inciderint fieri clerici; et convenit etiam hos, tamquam homines qui nihil in hoc peccaverint, si inveniatur conversatio eorum recta et pulcra, admitti ad impositionem manus quae in sacerdotio fit.

<sup>5</sup> IV.

*De iis qui ob diversas causas in quamdam idololatriam impeerunt.*

*De iis qui per causas varias aliquid paganismi egerunt.*

<sup>1</sup> Quod si etiam, accuratius D.S.M.

<sup>2</sup> Gr. ὑπό τινος

<sup>3</sup> aut etiam quorundam ignorantia accuratius D.S.M.

<sup>4</sup> = περὶ σχιθερίας.

<sup>5</sup> cc. iv, v = c. iv cum γ.

Inter illos qui vim passi sacrificarunt aut in templis idolorum manducarunt, <sup>1</sup> omnes illi qui, dum incederent, festivo apparatu aut pretiosioribus vestibus usi sunt, quique cenae indifferenter participes facti sunt, placuit synodo, ut anno integro inter auditores remaneant, iii annis genua flectant cum paenitentibus, ii annis orationibus tantum participant, et ita demum ad id quod perfectum est admittantur.

De iis qui per vim sacrificaverunt, et cum his etiam ederunt aede idolorum: eos quidem qui, cum ducerentur illuc, schemate laeto ascenderunt et vestimentis ornamenti usi sunt et communicaverunt facile in cibo qui paratus erat, convenit annum unum esse infra auditores, et iii annos paenitentes, et ii annos communicare in oratione communicantium non admissos, et tunc venire ad illam quae perfecta est.

## (V).

Omnes autem illi qui lugubri veste accesserunt, quique, reclinati ut manducarent, per integrum cenae tempus lacrimantes visi sunt, cum iii paenitentiae annos degerint, ad omnia recipiantur praeterquam ad oblationem. Quod si non comederint, cum ii annis paenitentiae vacaverint, tertio anno orationi participant, non autem oblationi, ita ut quarto anno id quod perfectum est accipiant. Episcopis autem, cum conversionis modum scrutati fuerint, amplio-rem liceat eis ostendere caritatem aut amplio-rem imponere paenitentiam; ante omnia autem attendatur priori posteriorique eorum conversationi, et ita illis, prout decuerit, ostendatur humanitas.

Qui autem in vestimentis doloris et aegrimonia ascenderunt, et accubuerunt et ederunt dolentes et lacrimantes per omne tempus, cum impleverint iii annos in paenitentia, admitti sine oblatione. Quod si accubuerunt tantum neque ederunt, ii annos esse in paenitentia et in tertio communicare orationi communicantium sine oblatione; ad eam vero quae perfecta est admitti quarto anno. Liceat autem episcopis, scrutantibus genus paenitentiae, aut misericordia uti aut tempus maius paenitentiae adicere; omnium autem examinetur conversatio pristina et ea quae postea, et sic misericordiā mensuretur iis.

<sup>1</sup> = Gr. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν (D.S.M.) cum δ.

V (VI).

*De illis qui minis tantum cesserunt.*

Si quidam ministantum devicti et absque tormentis bonorum direptione aut exilio sacrificaverunt, neque usque ad hanc diem conversi paenitentiam egerunt, nunc autem coadunata synodo accedentes conversionis manifestarunt volitionem: illos placuit usque ad diem magnam inter auditores recipere, elapsa autem die magna, iii annos inter paenitentes consistere, iique alios annos orationi participare, quin oblationi intersint, atque ita ad id quod perfectum est annis vi elapsis admitti. Quod si quidam ante synodum ad paenitentiam admissi sunt, ab hoc tempore sexennii computari initium oportet. Si quis autem in periculum quoddam mortisque expectationem ex morbo aliave causa incidit, recipiatur iuxta decretum necesse est.

*De iis qui ob timorem tantum pagani facti sunt.*

De iis qui propter minas tantum tormentorum vel rapinae possessionum suarum vel exilii a loco concesserunt et sacrificaverunt, et adhuc non paenitentes facti sunt neque conversi sunt, sed hoc tempore synodi surrexerunt et ostenderunt mentem paenitentiae: convenit usque ad diem magnam admitti eos infra auditores et postea esse iii annos in paenitentia, et post hos duos communicare orationi cum communicantibus sine oblatione, et tunc veniant ad eam quae perfecta est, ut impleant tempus vi annorum. Quod si sunt homines qui ante hanc synodum admissi sunt ad paenitentiam, tunc computetur iis tempus vi annorum. Quod si periculum aliquod aut opinio mortis a morbo aut ab alia causa acciderit, sub conditione admittantur.

VI (VII).

*De illis qui in diebus festis ethnicorum cum ethnicis comederunt.*

Relate ad eos qui comedunt in locis ethnicis reservatis, dum ethnici festum celebrant, licet escas secum allatas manducaverint, placuit synodo ut ii annis inter paenitentes exactis<sup>1</sup> deinde,

*De iis qui in locis aedis idolorum vescuntur.*

De iis qui ederunt in festis paganismi in loco strato paganis, cum cibos suos secum latos ederint, convenit ii annos eos paenitentiam agere et recipi. Utrum vero deceat etiam obla-

<sup>1</sup> ? διετίαν ὑποπεσόντας δεχθῆναι τότε, εἰ χρῆ, μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον κ.τ.λ.

si opportunum visum fuerit, ad oblationem admittantur. Unusquisque episcoporum disquiret et diiudicabit quomodo in uniuscuiusque casu sit agendum.

tionem simulac recipiantur accipere permissum voluntati uniuscuiusque episcoporum ut, cum examinaverit conversationem eorum, <sup>1</sup> faciat hoc.

### VII (VIII).

*De illis qui pluries sacrificarunt.*

Qui bis vel ter sacrificaverint, violentia compulsi, iv annos agant inter paenitentes, iique iterum annis orationi intersint, non autem oblationi, septimoque anno demum plene recipiantur.

*De iis qui saepius sacrificaverunt.*

Ii qui bis terque coacti sacrificaverunt, iv annos sint in paenitentia, et ii annos communicanto in oratione sine oblatione, et anno septimo perfecte recipiantur.

### VIII (IX).

*De illis qui aliis sacrificandi causa exstiterunt.*

Omnes illi qui non solum errarunt sed qui in ceteros fratres insurgentes illis vim vel intulerunt vel ut illis inferretur causa exstiterunt, iii annos inter auditores remaneant, vi annos deinde inter paenitentes agant, perque alium annum ad orationem admittantur, non autem ad oblationem, et ita demum, completo decennio, ad id quod perfectum est recipiantur; in eo autem ipso tempore eorum reliquam agendi rationem observare oportet.

*De iis qui etiam aliis causa erant ut sacrificarent.*

Ii qui non solum ipsi declinaverunt, sed etiam surrexerunt et coegerunt alios et fuerunt aliis causa ut abnegarent, hi iii annos in loco inferiore auditoribus et vi annos alios in loco paenitentium et annum alium accipiant communionem orationis sine oblatione, et cum compleverint tempus x annorum communicanto ei quae perfecta est, examinata cum his etiam conversatione vitae eorum.

<sup>1</sup> ? = ἀξιῶσαι

IX (X).

*De diaconis qui matrimonii convincuntur post suam ordinationem.*

Omnes diaconi, qui ordinandi sunt, si in ipso ordinationis momento interrogati dixerint se, quia sine uxore vivere non possunt, velle uxorem ducere, postquam matrimonium inierint, in officio permaneant, cum uxorem ducendi ab episcopo acceperunt licentiam. Qui vero silentes <sup>1</sup>ita ordinem susceperunt, si deinceps matrimonium contrahant, ab officio deponantur.

*De diaconis qui, accepturi impositionem manuum, antea testantur de matrimonio.*

Omnes ii qui futuri sunt diaconi si eo tempore quo admittuntur ad impositionem manuum testati dixerunt oportere eos communicare, quia non possint ita perseverare: hi, etiam si postquam acceperint impositionem manuum communicant, maneant in ministerio, propterea quod ab episcopo ceperunt veniam ad hoc. Quod si homines tacuerint quo tempore accipiebant impositionem manuum, et receperint eo quod tacuerint, se sic perstaturos esse et postea venerint in matrimonium, solvantur ministerio.

X (XI).

*De feminis quae postquam desponsatae sunt ab aliis violatae fuerunt.*

Puellae quae postquam desponsatae fuerunt ab aliis sunt raptae, placuit ut reddantur iis qui prius eas desponsarunt, etiamsi raptores illis vim intulerint.

*De iis quae postquam desponsae sunt corruptae sunt ab aliis.*

Virgines quae desponsae sunt et postea ab aliis raptae, convenit sponsis suis pristinis reddi, etiamsi per vim quid acciderit iis.

XI (XII).

*De catechumenis et de auditoribus qui sacrificaverunt.*

Illi qui, cum ante baptismum sacrificaverunt, postea baptis-

*De iis qui, cum essent auditores, sacrificaverunt.*

Eos qui ante baptismum suum sacrificaverunt et postea bap-

<sup>1</sup> = καταδεξάμενοι μένειν οὕτως.

mum susceperunt, placuit ut ad ordines recipiantur, quia peccatum abluerunt.

tizati sunt, convenit <sup>1</sup>decere venire ad ordinem cleri, propterea quod se purgaverint baptismo.

## XII (XIII).

### *De chorepiscopis.*

Chorepiscopis sacerdotum diaconorumque ordinationem non licet peragere, nec civitatum <sup>3</sup>presbyteris, absque licentia episcoporum per scriptum data, licet <sup>4</sup>celebrare in <sup>5</sup>quovis loco.

*Quod non deceat sine episcopo urbis fieri clericum ab iis quibus ruri secundum consuetudinem antiquam nomen episcopi est.*

Chorepiscopo non licet presbyteros aut diaconos facere, neque ruri neque <sup>6</sup>in urbe sine venia episcopi, quae fit <sup>5</sup>omni loco per literas.

## XIII (XIV).

### *De clericis qui carne abstinent.*

Qui in clero perstant sive presbyteri sive diaconi, et ab esu carnum abstinent, placuit ut comedant et ita <sup>7</sup>salvent semetipsos. Quod si carnem ita <sup>8</sup>impuram habuerint ut etiam holera cum carne cocta non comedant et canoni se submittere nolint, ab officio deponantur.

### *De clericis qui se abstinent esu carnis.*

Qui sunt in clero presbyteri et diaconi qui renunt esum carnis, convenit primum edere et postea, si volent, continere se ipsos; quod si <sup>8</sup>impuram perhibeant eam ut ne holus quidem coctum cum carne edant neque oboediant canoni, solvantur a gradibus suis.

## XIV (XV).

### *De bonis ecclesiae propter necessitatem alienatis.*

Facultates ecclesiae, quas va-

### *De rebus ecclesiae quae propter necessitates ecclesiae venierunt.*

Res quae propriae sunt eccle-

<sup>1</sup> ? = προάγεσθαι δεῖν.

<sup>2</sup> malit presbyterorum D.S.M.

<sup>3</sup> male interpretatum: rectius presbyteros D.S.M.

<sup>4</sup> malit ordinare D.S.M.

<sup>5</sup> = ἐκάστη.

<sup>6</sup> ? = πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως.

<sup>7</sup> vel melius teneant vel cohibeant D.S.M. et βούλονται omittitur.

<sup>8</sup> = βδελύσσονται.

cante sede episcopali abalienaverint presbyteri, <sup>1</sup>ecclesiae reddantur, <sup>2</sup>ita ut penes episcopum sit pretium emptoribus restituere vel non, quoniam multoties emptoribus in magnum lucrum cessit rei venditae proventus.

siae, quae cum deesset episcopus a presbytero venierunt, reddantur <sup>1</sup>ecclesiae. Illud vero, utrum deceat pretium sumere annon, sit in arbitrio episcopi: quod saepe fructus eorum quae veniere rependit iis qui emerunt pretium maius.

# XV (XVI).

*De iis qui cum bestiis commiscantur.*

Relate ad eos qui se commiscuerunt vel se commiscant cum bestiis, vigeat canon sequens: Qui antequam vigesimum annum attingerent peccarunt, xv annos inter paenitentes cum degerint, postea orationibus intersint; et, cum in hac communione v annos expleverint, etiam oblationem recipiant: attendatur tamen eorum vitae, dum paenitentiae vacant, ita ut humane tractentur. Quod si quidam ad satietatem usque in hoc peccato vixerint, diuturniori poena plectantur. Omnes autem qui praedicta aetate transacta in hoc peccatum inciderint, etiam cum haberent uxores, xxv annos in paenitentia perseverent, postea orationibus communicent, atque, cum v annos in hac communione consummaverint, oblatione digni habeantur. Quod si viri habentes uxores transacto quinquagesimo anno in hoc peccatum

*De iis qui cum bestiis adulterantur.*

De iis qui cum bestiis communicaverunt vel communicant statuimus nos omnes eos qui antequam xx annos nati fuerint peccaverunt, xv annos paenitentiam agere, et postea communicare orationi, et cum fuerint in communione v annos tunc etiam oblatione dignos haberi: probetur vero etiam conversatio eorum in paenitentia, et sic digni habeantur misericordia. Quod si homines ad satietatem perseveraverunt in peccato hoc, paenitentia protracta decernatur in eos. Qui vero praeterierunt mensuram xx annorum et uxores habentes inciderunt in peccatum hoc, paenitentiam agant xxv annos, et tunc recipiantur ad communionem orationis, et cum impleverint v annos in communione orationis, digni habeantur oblatione. Quod si homines uxores habentes et tempus l annorum praetervecti peccaverunt

<sup>1</sup> = τῷ κυριακῷ (?).

<sup>2</sup> accuratius in iudicio vero episcopi sit D.S.M.

inciderint, in extremis tantum oblatione donentur.

ad finem vitae suae digni habeantur communione.

## XVI (XVII).

*De illis qui postquam cum bestiis se commiscuerunt leprosi facti sunt.*

Illos qui cum bestiis se commiscuerunt sunt vel <sup>1</sup>facti sunt leprosi, iussit synodus inter <sup>2</sup>eos qui probantur orare.

*De iis qui cum bestiis vel cum maribus polluti sunt vel adhuc polluantur.*

Qui polluti sunt cum bestiis vel cum maribus et adhuc polluantur et <sup>1</sup>contabescunt, his imperavit synodus ut sint orantes cum iis qui <sup>2</sup>tentantur a daemoniis.

## XVII (XVIII).

*De episcopis consecratis qui repulsi sunt.*

Quod si quidam episcopi, postquam consecrationem acceperint, a locis quorum titulares existunt, eo quod accepti non fuerunt, ad alium locum migrare voluerint, episcopos <sup>3</sup>qui eos consecraverunt conturbantes et vexantes, excitando contra illos tumultus, tales segregentur. Si autem <sup>4</sup>pacifice se gerere voluerint in sacerdotio, <sup>5</sup>ut sacerdotes antea existebant habeantur nec a gradu deponantur. Sin autem tumultus cierint adversus episcopos ibi existentes, ab illis auferatur etiam sacerdotis munus, denuntiatosque se noscant.

*De iis qui fuerunt episcopi neque recepti sunt.*

Quod si homines qui fuerunt episcopi neque recepti sunt in locis quibus nominati erant, et ad alia loca volent ire, cogentes et excitantes turbas contra eos <sup>3</sup>qui se fecerunt, hi sint circumscripti. Quod si volent rursus fieri presbyteri <sup>5</sup>quales fuerunt antea, ne alienentur honore suo. Quod si turbaverint adversus episcopos <sup>3</sup>qui fecerunt se, adimatur iis etiam honor presbyterii et sint proscripti.

<sup>1</sup> Gr. *λεπρώσαντας*.

<sup>2</sup> Gr. *τοὺς χεῖμαζομένους*.

<sup>3</sup> Gr. *τοὺς καθεστῶτας*.

<sup>4</sup> Gr. *καθίξασθαι*.

<sup>5</sup> Gr. *ἐνθα ἦσαν κ.τ.λ.*

XVIII (XIX).

*De illis qui, postquam virginitatem voverunt, in mundum redierunt, sive viris sive feminis, et de mulieribus cohabitantibus.*

Omnes qui virginitatem voverunt votaue frangunt, canonibus respicienti submittantur. Virgines quae sororum more cum quibusdam commorantur, arcemus.

*De iis qui propter virginitatem abnegaverunt mundum et de mulieribus iis quae sub schemate sororum habitant cum viris.*

Ii <sup>1</sup> qui professi sunt virginitatem et violant professionem suam, terminum qui statutus est in eos qui ducunt duas uxores impleant. Virgines vero illas quae sub specie sororum habitant cum hominibus prohibuimus.

XIX (XX).

*De laicis quorum uxores, vel ipsi, adulteria commiserunt.*

Quod si cuiusdam uxor vel ipse adulterium commiserit, post vii annos ad id quod perfectum est admitti possunt, iuxta gradus antea descriptos.

*De iis quibus sunt uxores adulteratae vel qui adulterantur.*

Si fiet ut uxor hominis adulteretur, aut homo cum uxore alterius adulterium faciat, post vii annos digni censeantur communione oblationis.

XX (XXI).

*De mulieribus quae pueros suos necant.*

Mulieres quae, cum scortatae fuerunt, pueros occidunt aut tentant fetum opprimere, ad finem vitae usque excommunicatione plectebantur iuxta priores canones, <sup>2</sup> quibus adhaeret praesens synodus. Attamen, cum hoc decretum aliquatenus rigidum visum fuerit, decrevimus

*De iis quae varie occidunt liberos suos a stupro.*

De feminis quae constuprantur et occidunt liberos suos, et iis quae callide agunt et perdunt fetus suos, terminus prior usque ad exitum earum de mundo prohibet eas; <sup>2</sup> et cum hoc termino consentimus. Sed inventa re clementiore hoc tempus x annorum definivimus

<sup>1</sup> ? = ἐπαγγειλάμενοι.

<sup>2</sup> Gr. καὶ τούτῳ συντίθενται.

ab istis mulieribus x annos secundum gradus <sup>1</sup> modo definitos <sup>2</sup> esse explendos.

<sup>2</sup> ut impleant, secundum gradus <sup>1</sup> supra distinctos.

## XXI (XXII).

*De homicidis voluntariis.*

Qui volentes homicidia per-  
petrant inter paenitentes in-  
tegram vitam agant: sed ad id  
quod perfectum est in extremis  
admittantur.

*De iis qui sponte sua occidunt.*

Ii qui sponte sua occidunt  
sint in paenitentia omne tempus  
vitae suae: ea vero quae per-  
fecta est in exitu suo e mundo  
digni censeantur.

## XXII (XXIII).

*De homicidis involuntariis.*

Homicidis involuntariis vetus  
canon vii annos praescribebat  
antequam ad id quod perfectum  
est iuxta gradus definitos ad-  
mitterentur: secundus autem  
canon v annos tantum prae-  
scribit.

*De iis qui non sponte sua  
occidunt.*

De caedibus quae accidunt  
citra voluntatem, mandatum  
prius vii annos statuit in actiones  
eorum secundum gradus supra  
positos: hoc vero alterum tem-  
pus v annorum definivit in eos  
ut impleant.

## XXIII (XXIV).

*De ariolis.*

Qui divinationis artem exer-  
cerunt aut ethnicorum mores  
imitantes in domos suos divinos  
inducunt, <sup>3</sup> ut obiecta deperdita  
reperiant vel ut puritatem con-  
sequantur, canon i iuxta gradus praescriptos  
subiaceant, iii annos in paeni-  
tentia iique annos in oratione  
explentes, absque tamen parti-  
cipatione in oblatione.

De praestigiatoribus et iis qui  
praestigiatores sunt et consue-  
tudines paganismi sequuntur et  
iis qui introducunt homines in  
domos suas ut ad inventionem  
magicae vel ad purgationem:  
sub canone v annorum ponantur  
secundum gradus ibi definitos:  
iii annos in paenitentia et ii in  
oratione sine oblatione.

<sup>1</sup> Gr. τοὺς ὀρισμένους.

<sup>2</sup> = πληρῶσαι (?).

<sup>3</sup> Gr. ἐπὶ ἀνευρέσει φαρμακειῶν ἢ καὶ καθάρσει.

## XXIV (XXV).

*De illis qui virgines violant  
et de illis qui fetus opprimere  
tentant.*

<sup>1</sup> Quod si quis adolescentulae sibi desponsatae sororem violaverit ita ut fructum ab ea habuerit, postea tamen desponsatam duxerit, et illa quam violavit sibi necem intulerit: de illis qui ita scienter agunt praescribit synodus ut, x annis expletis, cum eis <sup>2</sup> qui simul orantes adstant iuxta gradus definitos admittantur.

*Desinunt canones xxiv in  
synodo Ancyrae conditi.*

*De iis qui norunt de corrup-  
tione virginis.*

<sup>1</sup> Si factum est ut desponsarit homo puellam et postea corruperit sororem eius, eaque ab eo conceperit, et rursus duxerit sponsam suam; ea vero quae concepisset suspenderit se ipsam: iis qui norant actionem imperatum est ut post x annos veniant <sup>2</sup> ad communionem oblationis iuxta gradus definitos.

## APPENDIX II.

## THE ARMENIAN VERSION.

THE appended translation (as literal a one as possible) of the Armenian version of the canons has been very kindly made for me by Mr. Conybeare, of University College, from a MS in his own possession, and to him I am also indebted for the following information.

In his history of the Armenian versions (Venice, 1890), P. Karékim assigns the sixth and eighth centuries as the limits for the translation of the Armenian book of canons, which he further supposes to have been made partly from the Greek, and partly from the Syriac. No grounds are given for either opinion; but the Armenian of the version would appear to be of about the seventh century, and this is borne out by internal evidence, thus the office of chorepiscopus requires explanation (c. xiv), *diocesis* is used in its later sense as equivalent to *παροικία*, and, more significantly, 'Roman' is used for 'Greek' in c. xiv. Again, the spelling of the names in the preface would support a Syriac original, for the transliteration direct from the Greek is usually

<sup>1</sup> = ἐὰν προσεφθάρη.

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much more exact, but comparison with the Syriac versions in App. i does not at all support this supposition. The Armenian has never been published. There are MSS of it at Venice and Jerusalem, but not of an early date; the best are in Edschmiadzin, but even they appear to be only of the fourteenth century.

The version, as will be seen at once, varies so much from the Greek as to afford hardly any evidence as to various readings in the original. The last six canons are missing, but the loss is balanced by the insertion of a new canon (x) and of much new matter, e.g. in cc. ix, xi, xvii, xx. Canon xv supports an original *βδελύσσουτο*; but on the other hand *πρεσβυτέρους* may have been read in c. xiv, which is closer to the Greek than most of the canons, though *ἐν ἐρέμῳ παροικίᾳ* is omitted.

On other grounds the version is very interesting. Its chief characteristic is an increase in *severity*: the terms of penitence are much heavier than in the Greek, cf. e.g. cc. iv, viii, ix, xvii; the presbyters and deacons, in cc. i and ii, must have undergone great violence to excuse their fall; deacons who break their pledge of celibacy suffer a heavy penance in addition to deprivation (c. xi); the sterner view is taken as to the eating of meats or idolothyta in c. x; and lastly the sin of apostacy and of causing others to apostatize is regarded as most heinous, under the 'first canons' death was the penalty for the latter, but the fathers at the peril of seeming contradiction to Holy Scripture<sup>1</sup> permitted the offenders to receive the viaticum. On the other hand they appeal to the *misericordia Christi* as the ground for leniency in cc. iii, xvii (? vii). So too almsgiving and *munificentia erga pauperes* is insisted upon as an indispensable sign of penitence, cf. cc. vii, viii, ix, x, xi. Technical terms are fully explained, e.g. *ἐκκληρύκτους* in c. xix and the stages of penance in cc. iv, xx. Among such explanations we notice in c. i that *δμλεῖν* is rendered *ad interpretationem sedere*, the *interpretatio* being the translation of the Greek or Syriac lections into the vernacular; also that *testamentum legere* is a 'liturgical' function of the presbyters, as to this day the reading of the Gospel is restricted to priests or deacons. The Armenian word for *clerus* in c. iii (as for *clericus* in xv. tit.) means 'covenant,' or 'vow,' and so denotes all those who have taken vows, and thus includes monks also and at times even all the faithful as being bound by baptismal

<sup>1</sup> Viz. to the words of Christ, *Negabo et eum coram patre meo*: but perhaps the original signified obedience to the divine precept, viz. to the remission of sins, *quaecumque solveritis, etc.* Cf. note.

vows; hence the *cleri pueri* are not the families of the clergy, but the children of the church (cf. Acts iii. 25). Ordination is *unctio* (c. xi, xiv), but it is also marked by laying on of hands (c. xiv tit. etc.). The *chorepiscopus* is regarded as possessing full episcopal powers, only differing in point of dignity from the town bishops who are *valde magni*.

The consistent alteration of the terms of penitence in the direction of greater severity, and the supplementary character of the new matter introduced, as well as the definition of penance before left vague (e. g. in c. xx) suggests two conclusions: (a) that the canons were still in practical force in Armenia at the date of the version and that would be due to the close proximity of and wars with the Arabs; this will also explain the stern view taken of apostacy in c. ix, with the allusion to the sentence of death which could have only been enforced under a Christian government: (b) that in the present version we have an authoritative revision of the original canons by a council, or some other authority, in Armenia; such a council, and not that of Ancyra, would be the *secundum concilium* of c. ix, and the *primi canones* be those of a previous Armenian synod, as their enactment is certainly not in the canons of any Greek council.

#### EXORDIUM.

Hi canones priores sunt quam illi qui Nicaeae instituti sunt. Qui enim Nicaeae instituti sunt, ut <sup>1</sup> antiquiores instituti sunt propter grave maximumque concilium quod congregatum est in urbe Nicaea.

Qui undique congregati sunt in concilium Ancyranum, eorundem nomina subscripta sunt istic: Marcellus Ancyranus, Agricolaus Caesariensis, <sup>2</sup> Paulus Tarsensis, Vitalia Antiochensis, <sup>3</sup> Barselius ex Amasia, Philadelphus Iuliopolitanus, <sup>4</sup> Eustrolus Nicomedensis. Heraclius Zelonensis, Petrus Iconensis, Nunechius Laodicensis. Sergianus ab Antiochia Pisidica urbe veniens <sup>5</sup>. Convenientes ergo Ancyram, unanimiter congregatis orthodoxis, dissolutionis causa Lyciae impietatis quae ad idolothyta sollennia invitos cogebat presbyteros, instituerunt secundum peccata terminum modumque paenitentiae, viginti capita canonum qui isti sunt.

<sup>1</sup> Haec verba Armenice acquirant *πρὸς βέλτερον* 'to be better, more important.'

<sup>2</sup> *Lupus* syr. et lat. isid.

<sup>3</sup> *Basilus* syr. et lat. isid.

<sup>4</sup> *Eustolus* lat. isid.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. add. *Epiaorius Pergae* (? *Epidaurus*), *Narcissus Neroniadis*, et lat. isid. etiam in quibusdam mss, *Leontius Neroniadensis*, *Longinus Dicationensis*, *Amphion Alfus*, *Selaus Germanus*.

I. De presbyteris qui ethnicorum violentia usque ad tormenta mortisque minas provecta ipsi propter metum sacrificaverunt, posteaque laboraverunt et solliciti sunt et revera redierunt: de talibus placuit sancto concilio, ut honorem cathedrae secundum ordinem habeant, sed ad interpretationem sedere vel oblationem offerre vel testamentum legere ne liceat.

II. Idem canon et diacono constituatur, si ab invito factum sit sacrificium et sine voluntate, sique sit reditus sincerus. Placuit magno concilio: in sacerdotium ne accedant, sed in ordine ministerii remaneant; si vero cruciatus et supplicium ab iniquis graviter inciderint reditusque sincerus fuerit, episcopus sit arbiter <sup>1</sup>presbytero et diacono an digni sint qui sui quisque gradus ministerio fungantur.

III. De laicis et de cleri juvenibus: si quis coactus fuerit impiorum violentia ad sacrificandum et direptis eorum bonis aliisque permaximis mortibus illatis, sique illi conclamaverint se christianos esse et de deo alio quodam nihil plane cognoscere, et si coacti ederint idolothyta maesti et animo contristati, non sine plangore lacrimisque, <sup>2</sup>iis per misericordiam Christi venia detur ut mortalibus et infirmis: talibus in ordinem ministerii obsignari liceat. Si quis vero de clero sit, dignus est qui adducatur in gradum sacerdotii; praesertim si prior vita recta fuerit, ut accipiantur placuit maximo concilio.

IV. De iis qui violentia abducti sunt ad sacrificandum, posteaque cum pervenissent in locum volenter hilares solutique per lusum risque lascivierunt in eorum templis, tunc autem in paenitentiam adducti sunt: placuit propter amorem dei erga homines ut duo annos audiat, et iii annos in vestibulo particeps sit precum, duoque annos ingressus ecclesiam cum paenitentibus egrediatur; vitam perquisitus eucharistiam participet.

V. Qui pullo amictu iverunt et inter accubitionem epularem ederunt, sed diem totum toro accumbentes fleverunt paenitueruntque, cum segregati substratique compleverint paenitentiam, triennium sine eucharistia accipiantur. Si vero non comederint, biennium segregentur; tertio iam anno participant sine eucharistia, ita ut quod perfectum praecipuumque est post tres annos accipiant, id est eucharistiam. Episcopos penes sit, cum morem reditus spectaverint, peccantem indulgentius tractare vel et aliquantulo spatium paenitentiae proferre. Praecipue et ante omnia quae fuerit anteacta

<sup>1</sup> Arm. *eritsoun tḡ preṣbūrépḡ*.

<sup>2</sup> ? vel et per misericordiam Christi venia data sit vitae eorum mortali, i. e. ita ut tormenta corporis non passi sint.

vita peccantis et in quibus versatus sit omni modo investigatio fiat et probatio, secundum quam et indulgentia aestimabitur.

VI. De iis qui minis coacti suppliciove seu bonis mulctati seu exsultantes oboedierunt sacrificaveruntque, neque adhuc rediderunt neque exomologesin fecerunt, nunc autem et ante tempus concilii animum induerunt paenitentis redeuntisque : placuit usque ad diem Pascharum audiant tantum, post autem magnam diem, Pascharum dico, sub disciplina sint iii annos; at peracto biennio participant sine eucharistia, et hoc modo usque ad rem perfectam veniant; eo ut omnino vi annos compleant. Si quis autem ante concilium ut paenitens exceptus sit, ab eo tempore aestimetur eidem initium vi annorum complendorum. Si cui vero periculum vel exspectatio mortis inciderit propter morbum vel aliam causam, is accipiat sub definitione.

VII. De iis qui ethnicorum in domos iverunt, ubi et locus paratus est sese impurandi causa, praesertim si et suos cibos attulerint ibique se lasciviae dediderint: etenim de talibus liber dicit, <sup>1</sup>*commisti sunt inter gentes et didicerunt opera eorum*: de his placuit ut triennium audiant, bienniumque <sup>2</sup>substrati participant preces; ad episcopi tandem placitum per misericordiam compassionemque erga pauperes participant eucharistiam.

VIII. De iis qui iterum tertioque euntes idolothyta comederunt, suosque cibos tulerunt obtuleruntque, postea vero exhortante episcopo ipsoque animo, in exomologesin paenitentiamque venerunt: placuit vii annos sub disciplina sint, et duo annos preces participant, ut paenitentes substrati; deinde spectati et posteram vitam et sinceritatem paenitentia afflictione et misericordia beneficentiaque erga pauperes comprobantes ad episcopi placitum eucharistiam participant.

IX. De iis qui ipsi non abstinuerunt a sacrificiis sed et fratres et amicos suos dolo seduxerunt ut una cum ipsis perderentur, propuleruntque eos praecipies in imam foveam, perinde atque scriptum est, <sup>3</sup>*foveam suis fodit, in eandem cadat quam fecit*: tales et primi canones interfici iusserunt, sed <sup>4</sup>secunda vice placuit unanime maximo concilio <sup>5</sup>offendere divino praecepto, *qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego eum coram patre meo qui est in coelis* et <sup>6</sup>*quaecumque solveritis super terram erunt soluta*

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cvi. 35.      <sup>2</sup> Arm. *ünd dzeramb* = sub manu.      <sup>3</sup> Ps. vii. 16 (?).

<sup>4</sup> forte legendum: *secundo placuit unanime maximo concilio*.

<sup>5</sup> insulsa lectio videtur *offendere*, nisi particula negativa antecedit, quae deesse videtur, vel vox ipsa *adhaerere* possit significare; vide autem pag. 210.

<sup>6</sup> S. Matt. x. 33 et xviii. 18.

*in coelo*; itaque placuit cuncto maximo concilio ut vivant neque moriantur; si facto reditu salutis usque ad plenam exomologesin adducti fuerint insaniae magistri qui familiares ad insaniam ad-e-g-e-r-un-t, prae gravi paenitentia magnaue tribulatione viaticum accipiant. Quos autem insanos reddiderunt, quinquennium <sup>1</sup> sub disciplina sint, iv vero annos substrati preces participant, prae munificentia erga pauperes eucharistiam participant.

<sup>2</sup> X. De iis qui comedunt sine discrimine et indifferenter cibos ethnicorum: placuit concilio magno deumque amanti dicere <sup>3</sup> *omnia munda mundis, coinquinatis autem omne immundum*, id esse quodcunque dignum sit iis comedere licere. Si fieri possit, ne degustet omnino; sin gulam audeat, caseum carnemque quae viro catechumeno mactata sit ne comedat; sed omnem cibum potumque et frugem et cramben etiam quae idolis cunque oblata fuerint, ne degustet omnino; quae vero per sacrificium labe haud maculata fuerint, panis, vinumque, lac, fruges, crambe, vestimenta, bestia, libera sint. <sup>4</sup> *Nolite tamen dare sanctum canibus*, cibos cleri sanctae ecclesiae <sup>5</sup> homini, <sup>6</sup> cui character domini non impressus sit, canones vetant. Sin vero mavis id agere quod ab apostolo dictum est, <sup>7</sup> *omne quod in macello venit, manducate*, audi continuo, *si quis autem dixerit, hoc immolatum est idolis, nolite manducare*. Si quis vero praecepto huic offendant et gulae obtemperet, paenitentia et eleemosyna peccatum expiet, unum annum substernatur, sed <sup>8</sup> cleri pueris ne omnino socius fiat; nonne scriptum est, <sup>9</sup> *in sapientia ambulate ad eos qui foris sunt*, ne nomen domini per vos blasphemetur inter gentes?

XI (X). Diaconis qui cum ad unctionem adducti sint conclamaverint se castos esse nequire, sancte nubere fas est, quia <sup>10</sup> *honorabile connubium et torus immaculatus*; posteaque ad sacerdotium promoveantur et palam libereque episcopo administrent. At si qui in unctione ipsa tacuerunt et in approbatione idcirca professi sunt ut confirmarentur in gradu, postea autem nupserunt, a sacerdotio cessent et ab ordine ministrantium ecludantur; vii annos inter audientes et duo annos substratus munificentia erga pauperes expiet

<sup>1</sup> Arm. *und kargok* ad lit. = *sub iussis*.

<sup>2</sup> Hic canon non in graecis reperitur.

<sup>3</sup> Tit. i. 15.

<sup>4</sup> S. Matt. vii. 6.

<sup>5</sup> per facilem emendationem M. Baronian, textus enim armenius hic corruptus est.

<sup>6</sup> id est non baptizato; cf. 1 Cor. i. 16 arm.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Cor. x. 25 et 28.

<sup>8</sup> id est filiis ecclesiae; cf. Acts iii. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Col. iv. 5 et Rom. ii. 24.

<sup>10</sup> Heb. xiii. 4.

peccata; sed examinatus spectatusque paenitentiam ab episcopo participabit eucharistiam, sed in ordinem et ministerium ne intret.

XII (XI). Sed quaecumque desponsae sint virgines nuptaeque repertae sint, postea vero ab aliis raptae sint, placuit ut restituantur iis quibus erant desponsae, vel si ob violentiam refugiant ne liceat.

XIII (XII). Qui ante baptismum sacrificaverunt posteaque baptizati sunt, placuit in gradum promoveantur tales, ut qui fonte lustrati sunt.

XIV (XIII). Chorepiscopis ne liceat presbyteros diaconosque unguere, neque autem creare seu unguere <sup>1</sup> presbyteros in ulla urbe sine permissu episcopi seu per litteras seu ipsa voce mandantis. Etenim qui in regionibus sive pagis episcopales erant, tales appellat chorepiscopos: chorepiscopus enim <sup>2</sup> Graece appellatur inspector pagi, factoque discrimine eorum qui valde magni sunt, nempe qui civitatibus praefecti sunt, episcopi appellantur regionum.

XV (XIV). Qui de clero sint presbyteri vel diaconi aut alio quidem munere in ministerio fungantur, abstineantque sese carne, sed appetitu ad gustandam adducantur, palam neque clam comedant; si autem maluerint, abstineant: et hoc et illud canones permittunt. Si quis tamen <sup>3</sup> pro impuro habeat sive cramben sive panem propter carnis contagionem, eum ecclesiae canones non accipiunt.

XVI (XV). De facultatibus quae ecclesiae esse definitae sunt, quodcumque sit, sive domus seu ager seu arvum, antequam episcopus in vico esset, sed presbyteri vendiderunt, potestatem habeat easdem ab iis exigendi: postea vero episcopus aestimabit et ius et pretium rei, utrum pretium oporteat adimere an reddere.

XVII (XVI). De iis qui sese bestiarum stupro polluerunt: si quis iuvenis veluti xv annos natus peccaverit, xv annos audiat posteaque quinquennium substernatur; paenitentiaque eius investigetur perquiraturque; is, si lacrimis et corde paenituerit, eleemosynaque peccatum expiaverit, dignus fiat qui participet eucharistiam. Sin vero adultus peccaverit veluti xx annos natus, xx annos audiat quinquenniumque substernatur; si tamen in peccatis perseveraverit, spatii plus addatur paenitentiae; fervorem et eleemosynam spectetur et eucharistiam participet. Si tamen uxorem habens sese polluerit, usque ad vitam peractam inter audientes sit cum gemitu et afflictione eleemosynaque; placuit magno concilio propter <sup>4</sup> *humani generis amorem* ut in discessu vitae accipiat viaticum. Bestiarum vero, si ad edendum sit idonea, canes comedant lac carnemque.

XVIII (XVII). Qui corpus maculosum seu lentigine sive alio quo

<sup>1</sup> ? *πρεσβυτέρους πόλεις*.

<sup>2</sup> Arm. *Horome* i. e. *Romane*.

<sup>3</sup> ? *βδελύσσονται*.

<sup>4</sup> ? *φιλανθρωπία* (Tit. iii. 4).

morbo habent, si clanculum alios contagione morbosos reddiderint, inter daemoniacos teneantur.

XIX (XVIII). Qui episcopi erant institutique, repudiati autem a dioecesi quae deputata est, in alteram dioecesin adire voluerunt vique alterius dioecesis episcopum cogere, adducta re in contentionem turbamque, tales fas est ab ecclesia pellere et occludere. Si tamen velint in ordine cuius erant presbyteratus sedere et nomen presbyterale habere, digni sunt acceptione. Sin episcopo obviam eant et resistent, omnino ab honore presbyteratus pellantur et coram ecclesia sit publica expulsio, eo ut omnibus notificetur.

XX (XXI). Qui iam adulti castitatis professionem fecerunt, posteaque vota non servaverunt et fornicati sunt, tales abhinc casti esse nequeunt: velut si duas feminas duxerit, talis habeatur; subiiciatur condicionibus paenitentiaeque; biennium in vestibulo substernantur, unum vero annum iam in ecclesiam ingressi cum paenitentibus egrediantur; animum et cor paenitentis ostendant et participant eucharistiam; sed ad unctionem sacerdotalem ne promoveantur. Virginibus autem quae quibusdam veluti sorores sese consociabant, diutius ne consocient, interdiximus.

#### ANCYRANI CANONES, CAPITA XX.

- I. *De sacerdotibus qui necessitate immolaverunt.*
- II. *De diaconis idem facientibus.*
- III. *De cleri pueris qui vi coguntur ad idolothyta comedenda.*
- IV. *De iis qui volenter sacrificaverunt.*
- V. *De iis qui hilariter manducaverunt.*
- VI. *De gavisis qui quominus paeniterent morati sunt.*
- VII. *De iis qui in domos iverunt ethnicorum atque comederunt.*
- VIII. *De iis qui perseveraverunt in peccatis.*
- IX. *De iis qui et ipsos et alios deceperunt.*
- X. *De non dando in oblationibus cibos infidelium.*
- XI (X). *De diaconis qui feminam ducunt.*
- XII (XI). *De iis qui abripiunt virgines desponsatas.*
- XIII (XII). *De iis qui post sacrificeationem baptizati sunt.*
- XIV (XIII). *De manus imponentibus chorepiscopis sacerdoti.*
- XV (XIV). *De clericis qui voluerunt carnem gustare.*
- XVI (XV). *De facultatibus quae ecclesiae appellatae sunt.*
- XVII (XVI). *De animalia struprantibus.*
- XVIII (XVII). *De iis qui corpore maculoso sunt.*
- XIX (XVIII). *De episcopo qui alienam dioecesin occupat.*
- XX (XIX). *De iis qui castitatem profitentur.*